

Ideas

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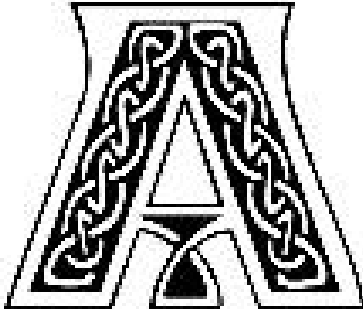
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LORD'S PRAYER

Cornish Version
brythonic Celtic



agan **T**as ní eus yn neu, **B**ennígys
re bo ðha **H**anow. **R**e ðheffo
ðha **W**laskor, **D**ha vodh re bo
gwr̥ys, yn nor kepar hag y neu.

Ro ðhyn ní hedh̥yw agan bara pub ðyðh
oll; **H**a gau ðhyn agan kammweyth,
Kepar dell avyr níní ðhen re na eus ow
kammwul er agan pynn ní; **H**a na wra
agan gorra yn temtashon, **M**es delyrv ní
díworth ðrog. **R**ag dhiso jy yw an
wlaskor, han galloes, han gordh̥yans, **B**ys
vykken ha bynarí.

Amen





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El español como lengua internacional o lengua franca

Hasta hace muy poco tiempo, el objetivo principal de la enseñanza del español era poder comunicarse lo más perfectamente posible con los hablantes nativos, quienes eran considerados como los dueños de la lengua, los guardianes de sus estándares y los únicos capaces de aceptar las normas pedagógicas. Esta era la situación sin importar si el español era lengua extranjera o segunda lengua, o sea el español enseñado a aquellos para los que éste no iba a tener una función interactiva en Lengua 1, ya que no se encontraban en un país hispanoparlante, ni como segunda lengua, enseñado para aquellos que sí la iban a tener o para aquellos que inmigraban a un país hispanoparlante. Para cumplir con sus objetivos se consideraba esencial que los hablantes no nativos se aproximaran lo más posible a los estándares de un nativo, especialmente con respecto a la pronunciación.

Sin embargo, en los últimos años, debido a los desarrollos políticos y económicos mundiales, esta enseñanza comenzó a enfrentarse con un serio reto, teniendo en cuenta el uso del español y sus roles y consecuentemente los objetivos de su pedagogía. La lengua española enseñada como segunda comenzó a metamorfosearse con la lengua española vista desde un punto de vista más pragmático, de pura comunicación, sin perfección, o seudoperfección; es lo que se dio en llamar español como lengua internacional, o sea que ninguno de los intercomunicados la poseen como Lengua 1 o lengua madre. Su uso se da especialmente con objetivos comerciales, de allí su referencia, a veces, como lengua franca. Por supuesto que no será como la lengua inglesa, que es en estos momentos la lengua franca

por excelencia, pero dado el uso cada vez mayor del español en el mundo, aun en el anglosajón, le sigue en importancia como lengua comercial o lengua franca. Y cuando nos referíamos al mundo anglosajón, aludíamos especialmente a la situación de Estados Unidos, donde el porcentaje de latinos va en creciendo y se espera un 60 por ciento más para dentro de treinta o cuarenta años. De a poco están tratando de pasar de un uso interno a un uso internacional del español que les permita poder comunicarse con países donde se niegan a hablar inglés y prefieren el español; me refiero principalmente a países de Oriente y Oriente Medio. Las negociaciones deben continuar y esto no los va a tocar en su orgullo.

También debemos destacar que prácticamente la enseñanza a distancia de la lengua corresponde, casi por naturaleza, a la lengua internacional y no a ninguno de los otros dos modelos, y no me refiero tanto a la parte sintáctica o semántica como a la fonológica, donde es tan difícil controlar si se logra o no una pronunciación casi nativa, como lo requieren los modelos mencionados.

Todo este movimiento, por supuesto, está alterando a algunos pedagogos y lingüistas más ortodoxos que ya han comenzado a cuestionar el aceptar el uso «incorrecto» del español y comenzaron a cuestionar el derecho de propiedad del mismo y decir quiénes son los que deben marcar los estándares correctos para ser enseñados y en consecuencia usados, al margen de la circunstancia y los propósitos específicos del destinatario. Nadie les niega el derecho a los parlantes nativos a establecer sus propios estándares para el uso de una interacción con otro nativo, y aún más, con

parlantes no nativos. Sin embargo, la cuestión más importante acá es: ¿quién debe tomar las decisiones para una intercomunicación totalmente entre parlantes no nativos, es decir lo que se dio en llamar Español como Lengua Internacional?

La aseveración de que el hablante nativo no es dueño de la Lengua Internacional no es nueva. Ya en 1976 en relación con la enseñanza del inglés como Segunda Lengua, Smith declaró que «El inglés pertenece al mundo [...] No es tuyo (no importa quién seas) ni mío (no importa quién sea yo)». Más recientemente, Brumfit afirma: «No solamente el inglés se volvió internacional en la última mitad del siglo, sino que la enseñanza también se internacionalizó, el dueño de la lengua inglesa se ha internacionalizado. No somos más una comunidad lingüística que está asociada con una comunidad nacional o con un grupo de naciones, como lo pretendía el aún llamado Commonwealth. Somos una comunidad internacional».

Me gustaría citar a Widdowson, que aun siendo el iniciador del método comunicativo para la enseñanza de una lengua extranjera, tiene una posición más enfática sobre este tema y explica precisamente por qué el inglés es ahora una lengua internacional: «Sirve a un gran número de comunidades diferentes y sus propósitos internacionales, y eso trasciende las fronteras tradicionalmente comunales y culturales». Continúa oponiéndose al control total del hablante nativo: «El desarrollo del inglés en el mundo no es problema de ningún hablante nativo de Inglaterra, América del Norte o cualquier otro lugar. No tienen nada que decir en este asunto, no tienen derecho a intervenir ni a juzgar absolutamente nada. Son irrelevantes. El hecho de que el inglés sea una lengua internacional significa que ninguna nación tiene su custodia. Otorgarles tal custodia de la lengua requeriría parar su desarrollo y socavar su status internacional.

Es cuestión de orgullo y de satisfacción para los nativos que su lengua sirva como medio internacional de comunicación. Pero el punto radica en que es internacional al punto de que no es más su lengua. No es una posesión que ellos otorgan a otros. Otra gente ya la posee».

Estos puntos de vista están lentamente ganando adeptos entre los estudiosos, especialmente entre los españoles, ya que muy recientemente se empezó a hablar sobre ello. Dentro de la comunidad de la enseñanza del idioma como lengua extranjera son los lingüistas nativos los que comenzaron a examinar críticamente la construcción del nativo y cuestionar su autoridad y lo apropiado de sus normas. Los principales detractores de esta teoría son los hablantes no nativos de la lengua, especialmente en la comunidad de docentes de lengua, quienes sostienen a rajatabla que la lengua debe ser la variedad que habla el nativo. Ciertas opiniones sugieren que se debe apuntar a la adquisición fonológica más cercana a la producción de un nativo. Se ha llegado a decir que el ideal es imitar al nativo de una lengua estándar tan aproximadamente como sea posible. El hablar una lengua no es estar ligado a la identidad cultural de esa lengua. Es en realidad un exponente de nuestras propias habilidades académicas y lingüísticas. No consideran un halago decirle a una persona que su lengua tiene un marcado acento o un dejo de interferencia de su lengua materna. Simplemente implicaría que la adquisición de la lengua está lejos de ser la deseada.

Este punto de vista no es solamente un concepto universal, sino algo sostenido por profesores y futuros profesores. En este punto estoy totalmente de acuerdo. Si uno quiere ser docente, debe ser modelo, y para ser modelo es preciso aproximarse a la realidad en la mayor medida posible. No se puede permitir cualquier versión del manejo de la lengua, pues sería caótico. Se debe estandarizar

para que no se transforme en un verdadero embrollo de distintas versiones de la misma lengua. Acá soy inflexible. En cuanto al resto, habría que ver las necesidades de cada una de las personas que la están aprendiendo.

También me gustaría referirme a las etiquetas usadas para los hablantes de una lengua: es completamente inapropiado, y hasta ofensivo, el hacer la diferencia entre nativo y no nativo. Hay hablantes no nativos que han llegado a dominar la lengua, ya sea siguiendo las metodologías utilizadas como extranjera o segunda, de una manera que se han ganado bien el calificativo de bilingües, por su fluidez y su manejo en general. Esta dicotomía nativo/no nativo causa percepciones negativas y falta de seguridad en los docentes. Esto lleva a que sean rechazadas publicaciones perfectamente redactadas y con alto contenido académico, que no se les acepten artículos en revistas de prestigio internacional por no ser nativos. La mayoría de las veces esgrimen como razón la cantidad de errores en que puede incurrir un no nativo, y no se refieren específicamente a errores sintácticos o gramaticales en general, si no a errores de la cultura propia de la lengua. Esta es una idea simplista que constituye en sí un error y además que marca deficiencias en los programas que se utilizan para examinar a los receptores, ya que de ser así, se han medido con parámetros totalmente alejados de la realidad e irrelevantes. Esta dicotomía desaparecería volviendo a usar el viejo término de bilingüe en vez de no nativos.

Podríamos cerrar el concepto diciendo que tal lengua es una lengua internacional y que es propiedad de todos aquellos que la usen, sin importar si son o no son nativos.

Metodología sugerida para una lengua internacional

Me gustaría mencionar ahora algunas pautas sugeridas para el tratamiento de la enseñanza de una lengua como lengua internacional, y

luego presentar algunas de mis consideraciones sobre cómo enseñar una lengua, ya sea con la etiqueta de extranjera, segunda, internacional o lengua franca.

Cabe destacar que éstas son etiquetas, maneras de enfocar cualquier metodología de las que andan por allí dando vueltas. Nada nuevo hay bajo el sol. Las metodologías no son específicas de una lengua extranjera, segunda o internacional, sino que sirven para cualquiera con pequeñas variaciones, sobre todo en la parte práctica. Queda claro que estos nombres no tienen nada que ver con los métodos, adecuados o no, efectivos o no. No fueron ni serán inventados para alguna de ellas en especial, aunque a veces eso se pretende.

Comencemos con lo último en cuanto al tratamiento de una lengua con carácter internacional.

Las dos cuestiones principales que se presentan en la enseñanza de la lengua son, primeramente, si es necesario insistir en la imitación de la pronunciación exacta de un hablante nativo, especialmente cuando pocas van a ser las posibilidades de tener contacto con uno de ellos; y en segundo lugar, cómo se puede promover la inteligibilidad internacional ante las grandes cantidades de variaciones que se hablan en esa lengua. En otras palabras, ¿cómo se identifican, por razones metodológicas, los estándares mínimos de inteligibilidad mutua, sin recurrir a algún modelo de la lengua 1?

Después de varias propuestas, las que sería largo mencionar, se concluyó en un cambio de las actitudes pedagógicas; por ejemplo, ya no se espera que los estudiantes adquieran automáticamente el bagaje cultural de la lengua 2, junto con la competencia lingüística y comunicativa, y se les permite adaptar la lengua a sus propias normas culturales. En clases más avanzadas hasta se les permite lo que se da en llamar «competencia intercultural». Esto se logra, por ejemplo, por medio de trabajos

comparativos, exposición a las distintas culturas y el uso de literatura y obras de teatro. Los estudiantes desarrollan la capacidad receptiva de darse cuenta de las diferencias en las normas culturales de las dos lenguas, lo que les permite ir incorporando las de la lengua 2 en sus propias normas.

El objetivo principal de la enseñanza de la pronunciación de la lengua como extranjera es imitar a los nativos lo más precisamente posible. Este objetivo se considera perimido e inapropiado cuando se trata de la producción oral en la enseñanza de la lengua internacional, argumento sustentado con trabajos de investigación en psicología social, los que demostraron claramente la íntima relación entre los rasgos segmentales y suprasegmentales tanto con la identidad personal como con la identidad grupal. Sin embargo, las actitudes populares en la enseñanza relacionadas con la producción oral y el acento son, como lo demuestra la literatura sociopsicológica, firmemente resistidos y demasiado lentos para el cambio. Se ha demostrado que las personas con marcado acento materno son discriminadas al presentarse a un pedido de trabajo. Lo mismo ocurre con aquellas que tienen un claro acento de clase trabajadora baja, tanto que se les recomienda que traten de mejorarlo. Por supuesto, me estoy refiriendo exclusivamente a países desarrollados o con un avanzado porcentaje de desarrollo y no al nuestro, donde hay otros desvalores que cuentan sobre el flujo del habla. Acá el propio nativo con todas estas características llega a rangos muy altos.

En países como Inglaterra este fenómeno tan marcado está desapareciendo de a poco; no así en España, donde todavía persiste debido a un problema de política inmigratoria.

Si es lento el cambio en el hablante de una lengua madre, mucho más lento lo es en el de una segunda lengua o lengua extranjera. Aunque en los últimos años uno de los más

significantes e interesantes desarrollos fonológicos ha sido el incremento en la antipatía de un pequeño pero creciente grupo de fonólogos, sociólogos y aun tutores de una lengua extranjera o segunda, quienes defienden la postura de la enseñanza de la lengua como internacional.

En el campo de la psicología social, encontramos una actitud desfavorable de parte de algunos docentes en el uso de la imitación casi perfecta del nativo. Además se esta comenzando a enfrentar, especialmente con el español, el uso de una variación neutra, para poder ganar puestos de trabajo. Esto ocurre con docentes nativos; el problema del docente considerado no nativo es mucho más candente. Ellos saben, por experiencia del aprendizaje de una lengua 2, la importancia que tiene la pronunciación en la inteligibilidad productiva y receptiva, y por lo tanto endurecen su postura de libertad en la oralidad mucho más que los docentes nativos. Ellos insisten, por experiencia personal, en lograr un grado de corrección superior al del propio nativo.

Si consideramos ahora a la persona que esta entrenándose en una lengua 2, no podemos olvidarnos de la íntima relación entre lengua e identidad. Cualquier intento de reducir una lengua a un medio enteramente neutro de comunicación falla porque inmediatamente aparece el factor humano; la lengua crece, cambia, varía, se vuelve sujeto de identificación de las necesidades básicas de los hablantes, quienes tratan de expresar su propia identidad. Como ya dijimos, el acento está particular e íntimamente relacionado tanto con la identidad personal como con la grupal.

Aun las personas a quienes se atribuye un dominio muy elevado de la lengua 2 frecuentemente retienen un porcentaje de las características fonológicas de su lengua madre o lengua 1. Esto se debe a que tienen un perfecto control motriz en la producción pero el factor identidad es el elemento más

sobresaliente de todos. Ciertos autores extremistas sostienen que imponer a una persona las normas de la lengua en estudio equivale a imponerles la pérdida parcial de su identidad. Algunos, mucho más románticos, llegan a sugerir que «los sonidos, los ritmos y la entonación de nuestra lengua madre evitan el corte del cordón umbilical que nos ata a ella». Por último, me gustaría agregar que también la identidad desempeña un rol importante en una clase enteramente monolingüe o en una clase multilingüe.

Daré mi humilde opinión, la cual —después de casi treinta años de enseñar español a extranjeros—, quisiera creer tiene algo de validez. Para mí la teoría presentada no está del todo mal; lo que está mal es querer aplicarla en cualquier circunstancia. Primeramente, sería lamentable que los profesorados o traductorados adoptaran esta postura. Como he dicho anteriormente, somos y debemos ser ejemplos, o sea que el imitar lo más que se pueda a un hablante nativo es importantísimo, aunque nunca tengamos la posibilidad de enfrentarnos a uno de ellos, cosa que en estos momentos de la historia considero casi imposible. Todos tratan de tener contacto con nativos y la inteligibilidad productiva y auditiva es de trascendental importancia. Esto queda muy claro. En estas circunstancias, estoy totalmente en contra. Además mi especialidad es la fonología comparada, y me cuesta mucho más aceptar los conceptos que expuse anteriormente. Podría estar de acuerdo con el objetivo de la llamada lengua internacional si éste se limitara exclusivamente a lograr la comunicación entre hablantes de distintas lenguas, es decir, cuando ninguno de los dos es nativo de la lengua 2. Para mí la lengua entonces pasa a ser un simple instrumento de comunicación, pero hay que tener en cuenta que la inteligibilidad también está en juego. No podemos desprendernos de la propia identidad, pero ésta puede atentar contra el objetivo de

la comunicación, y las negociaciones para la que fue propuesta esta versión de lengua pueden llegar a ser un fracaso. Debemos ser muy cuidadosos y no ser extremistas. Un justo medio podría llevarnos al triunfo.

Para comenzar con mis recomendaciones metodológicas para cualquiera de estos modelos, me gustaría que quede en claro cada uno de ellos:

Lengua extranjera: Cuando se estudia en un país donde la lengua madre no es precisamente la lengua 2, como es el caso del inglés o francés en la Argentina. El contacto con el nativo es esporádico.

Segunda lengua: Cuando se estudia en el país al que se emigró, o sea que la lengua 2 es allí la lengua 1. Caso del latino que emigra a un país angloparlante. El contacto con el nativo es constante.

Lengua internacional: Cuando se estudia sin imitar a ningún nativo, ya que se va a utilizar exclusivamente (y eso es un error) entre no nativos. Caso de un argentino y un japonés.

Sofía Fernández Valani

The Golden Room

Fiction

He was alone. He felt so apart from the whole society, as of that family of his. "I don't deserve this," he complained once and again. His life had no meaning. His life was a routine. Always the same. He felt undervalued, humiliated. He thought everyone discriminated him for one or another reason. Not even could he be his own breadwinner.

Set apart from the wild but real world and finding not even a coherent explanation about it, everyday he tried to recover his own strength to go on. Everyday he stayed alone in that golden room as someone said, without any communication. His life was full up of sadness.

Spending the whole day to-ing and fro-ing, ceaselessly, with no knowledge of time. Nobody to share his feelings with. No friends. No companions. No acquaintances. Nobody. He felt like a prisoner. Freedom...? No, he couldn't find it. However, no matter how much he liked it...he thought he would never have that pleasant possibility again.

During the day, he used to while away the time thinking about freedom. It was his only pastime deluding himself that any distraction of the person who cleaned his place would allow him the opportunity to leave his golden room. In spite of it all, he would never give it up.

However, at night and after pecking at his birdseed, he usually jumped into the small stick of branch at the top of the gloomy cage and fell sound asleep until the rebirth of the new day.



The Metaphor of the Classroom in Two Contemporary British Plays

Well, it's all trivial anyway
—Valentine, *Arcadia*, II: 5

Within a span of twenty years Tom Stoppard (*Arcadia*, 1993) and Trevor Griffiths (*Comedians*, 1975) took their audiences back to school for an exercise of reflection that success fully mixed laughter, varying degrees of emotion and a genuine sense of entertainment. We are referring to the plays mentioned between parentheses which have it in common that both made of the classroom their setting, thus turning some or all of the characters into pupils and/or teachers.

That the classroom offers dramatic potentialities is fairly obvious as is the fact that such a choice for a setting raises not a few questions related to its capacity for sense-making in our own time, a time when the school as we have known it is on the verge of extinction. For example, in the case of Stoppard's play, why has he used the metaphor of the classroom when his main concern seems to be rather the garden image with all its components: the gazebo, the lawn, the lake, the trees, Hannah's research, the "serpent" architect, the apple (leaf), the changing of muddy shoes, "Hodge" the hermit, the garden party, the tent, etc; in which way can Stoppard's and Griffiths's fundamentally different classrooms illuminate each other? And, at the bottom of it all, what meaning is produced through this metaphor? Which are its implications and how do they work in these plays?

It seems convenient to start by the last questions. The figure of the classroom immediately brings to mind a definite type of relationship, marked by hierarchy whereby one

part takes the place/role of authority and the other submits to it (or not). In *Arcadia* we see some such relationship but we fail to perceive where authority exactly lays, if there is actually any behind the traditional roles of tutor-pupil. Septimus, the tutor, offers in II:7 a description of his role to Augustus, his pupil's brother, an Etonian, who has questions him on the subject,

I do not rule here, my lord. I inspire by reverence
for learning & the exaltation of knowledge
Whereby man may approach God.

after which he adds, in typical Stoppardian manner, "There will be a shilling for the best cone...pyramid...drawn in silence" undermining thus the respect he was beginning to create with his words. His lack of authority is further corroborated by the lack of any visual/gestual indication of it in the setting or in the proxemics. He and Lady Thomasina, his 14-year-old pupil, are sitting at a large table, perhaps at either end (no specific direction) on high-backed chairs which are signs of period and status (early nineteenth century in a stately home of a noble family) rather than index of roles.

In *Comedians* instead, the situation revolves around half a dozen students; the classroom shows the traditional arrangement for teacher's dominance in the form of a dais where he is expected to stand and where Eddie Waters in fact does stand, a position that will go almost unchallenged until nearly the end of the play. His authority seems legitimated by his ability to control his group, his expertise on the subject he teaches, and his experience, acknowledged even by his rival, suggestively named Challenor, the showbiz agent. What seems rather at odds with the banality of this contemporary, Manchester-based working-

class evening school for adults is the subject of study: *comedy*. As if it could be taught!

While Eddie Waters appears to be a very competent teacher in every way, Septimus Hodge, the tutor of *Arcadia*, strikes us as a very doubtful one. He seems to be a scientist through his Cambridge background but whereas we have for Waters other people's references ("Challenor reckons you could have been great...you just stopped wanting it," says student Gethin Price in the third act of the play), for Septimus there is only a "letter of self-recommendation" (Hannah, I:2). We never really hear him expounding his theories as we do with the character of Waters in the first act, who lectures on jokes. We do not either see him leading Thomasina expertly into any serious, systematic work, i.e. an equivalent to Eddie Waters' drills and exercises. And when he thinks he is checking her mistakes it inevitably turns out he had not in fact understood her equation! (See the "rabbit" equation in II:7.) In *Comedians*, the teacher unerringly makes his point when he rebukes his "pet" student on the subject of the "limerick" that was offensive to women. Yet Septimus does hold some sort of intellectual sway over Thomasina as when he fences her questions on the subject of the "carnal embrace" by contrasting its meaning with Fermat's theorem! A dishonest stratagem really that Thomasina will tackle with her characteristic directness, thereby raising the vital question,

If *you* do not teach me the true meanings of things,
who will?

The same question pops up rather unexpectedly in the first act of *Comedians*, prompted by the teacher by means of a tongue-twister, "The traitor distrusts truth," which students are supposed to practise with and which only his best student, Gethin Price, can produce "effortlessly and at speed" according to directions—because he does not care for meaning? Because he believes in what he says?

Does?—then, to dispel doubts, "very levelly, measuredly at Waters"...the *confrontation* has begun, the challenge to authority. The teacher has been sensing it all along. He replies by a long tirade made up of all the stereotypes that prejudice creates to mock truth and love which are the stock-in-trade of stand-up comedy: Irish, Jews, women, blacks, etc ending up in the same the tongue-twister, now slightly altered, "the traitor *destroys* the truth." Nobody except Price seems to understand the outburst. Griffiths himself comments on this part,

they think that Eddie Waters is a racist and he's coming clean just like everybody else. What's interesting is that another sector of the audience will take issue with the first sector's reception and quite frequently, in struggling to become an audience, the audience will show itself as a number of audiences...¹

That human relationship should be based on truth is a commonplace and also an ideal but that the teacher-pupil relationship be based on truth is a *conditio sine qua non* of its very existence. Hence Thomasina's violence when she discovers Septimus has deceived her on the subject of the Cleopatra "translation." She calls him "cheat" and flees from the classroom with an ominous "I hope you die" in "tears of rage" according to directions (I:3). Of course she has not yet attained that degree of maturity or of indifference which can make allowances for ironic or weary tutors...

Yet it would altogether unfair to pin all the responsibility of the truth upon the teacher. When Thomasina asks, "Am I the first person to have thought of this?," echoed by Chlöe's "Valentine, do you think I'm the first person to think of this?" in II:7, the feeling is that of childish arrogance or pride, and the question has little of the passion for knowledge expected in a good pupil. Indeed Chlöe can be forgiven on account of her not being a student at all,

¹ Martin Cinnamond talks to Trevor Griffiths, Lyrics Hammersmith Playbill, July 1993.

not so Bernard, the Oxford don, who acts exactly as if he were the first to have “thought of that” namely, the discovery of Chater, the poet already “studied” and dismissed the century before, and his shady connections with Lord Byron over an adulterous love affair.

A classroom is, or should be, basically a testing-ground, a place to make mistakes in, and to enjoy the rare pleasure of starting anew every time. At the end of *Comedians* one of the students who failed, Ged Murray, wants to take the course all over again. Thomasina, after the angry outburst with Septimus, is seen working again with the same zest and sweetness as before. In a classroom nothing begins or ends forever. Friendships, hates, hopes, plans, failures, successes all are temporary states and both plays provide plenty of examples that this is so. The “schoolroom” of *Arcadia* itself has become in time a mere place of passage in a very physical sense, “the way to the nearest toilet” to quote Bernard (I: 2).

Another way for the classroom to be is the place where questions are asked and answered. The manner in which these answers are found make all the difference. In the *Comedians*’ classroom, Eddie Waters the teacher seems to have these answers all ready. And to be willing and anxious to pass them on. But not all of his students identify with them. Either because they hurt their hearts (Price) or their pockets (Samuels). Septimus, if he has any answer, is always reluctant to share it or is too busy to care: he is constantly receiving & answering letters, reading other stuff or fending off trouble, mainly related to his inordinate sexual life or satirical disposition.

A classroom is also a place for revelation: for discovery and self-discovery which does not necessarily relate to a specific field of knowledge, although it may *start* there. In a realistic approach, such as that of Trevor Griffiths, the examples abound, especially in the third act, in the fiery confrontation between

Price and his teacher, but also in the Murray brothers’ bitter split, in Price & Samuels’ rivalry. In *Arcadia*, revelations are not always of such crucial importance, and the classroom teems with the gossip of Septimus’s escapades with Mrs Chater or Lord Byron’s indiscretions at breakfast time to name but a few. It also echoes with Bernard’s rehearsal of the lecture he will deliver in London on his “sensational” discovery—which is no discovery at all.

Thomasina literally “lives” in her classroom, from age 13 to 17, through her concern with the Fermat’s theorem and her first sex inquiry on through her piano lessons, her Latin translations, her philosophical speculations, gallantly onwards to her “graduation,” the waltz-dancing with her tutor. She has “iterated” her life as she did the apple leaf: to the limit of her possibilities (Cf “I have no room to extend it” II:7, p. 78). Yet, within those bounds, are contained *all* the possibilities that Valentine will, almost two centuries after, display on the computer to the wonder of Hannah, in the same room. Thomasina had, in fact, gone beyond the questioning when she, in front of Lady Croom her mother, had taunted Septimus with,

There’s another geometry which I am engaged in discovering by trial & error, am I not, Septimus?²

Septimus seems to understand or to admit this when he not only dances with her but lights her candle, the one that is going to burn her to death. It’s a melancholy note that Stoppard strikes when, by letting us know of her early tragical death some sequences before its actual occurrence, he puts in Septimus’s mouth the warning lines “Be careful with the flame” as a goodnight gesture, with all the ambiguity that “flame” is capable of evoking in us, all the possibilities of meaning the word has been collecting through the ages.

²Tom Stoppard. *Arcadia* (London: Faber & Faber, 1993), II:7, p. 84.

In *Comedians* the classroom is central from beginning to end, just as the teacher remains a dominant figure: the students gather there, get ready, depart from & come back to again. The Bingo Club where they perform is only an “examination” room. Physically, this classroom is a cluttered space in a 1947 two-storeyed house with its suggestion of wartime drabness and poverty. *Arcadia*’s, on the contrary, is an almost bare room: “what elegance there is, is architectural and nothing is impressive but the scale.” The windows are open to a “bright but sunless morning.” By contrast, they seem to acquire a *symbolical* meaning. Indeed *Arcadia*’s “schoolroom” is an out-of-the-way affair; even in Septimus’s & Thomasina’s times the centre is elsewhere, in the park where the unseen Lord Croom goes shooting, in the gazebo where there is “carnal embrace” galore; in the Music room where Lady Croom & the Polish Count Zelinsky play together the piano, with long pauses...in London, where Bernard delivers the lecture that will in his expectations make him famous, or outdoors, in the new garden designed by Noakes where a great charity ball under a tent is going on and from which Hannah flees towards “the room” in search of shelter. And yet, this margin has become the *centre*, as we shall see later on.

Indeed, as we have said, classroom relationships are governed by the traditional notion of authority. While in *Comedians* this is clearly shown, in *Arcadia* the notion has become somewhat blurred. The *Comedians* teacher still stakes claims for a kind of truth which for him is compassion but this is challenged by some of the students. The *Arcadia* teacher instead is all the time concealing the truth, avoiding it, or delaying it until cornered by Thomasina into acceptance. Within the framework of the metaphor, this has to do with learning or language. Gethin Price complains to his teacher, “well, then why don’t you listen to what I’m saying, Eddie?”, “shouting,” according to

directions, in the third act. In *Arcadia*, to Bernard’s exasperated “You can’t stick Byron’s head into your laptop! Genius isn’t like your average grouse,” Valentine replies “casually” that “Well, it’s all trivial, anyway,” in an utterance where “trivial” serves to exemplify just how far language has gone, from meaning so many things, into square meaninglessness for Bernard is made furious by the uptake (first meaning of the word) while Valentine was referring to the specialized, mathematical sense of “having zero value for all the variables of the solutions of a set of homogeneous equation” as his next reply demonstrates,

The questions you’re asking don’t matter... what matters is the calculus. Scientific Progress. Knowledge.³

So when Stoppard insists in his directions “nothing much need be... seen of the exterior beyond,” the stress is heavily laid on the text, on what “we come to learn” through the characters’ discourse. His play is a feat of language, and language has been the traditional manner of communicating learning. Trevor Griffiths, a teacher himself, also relies heavily on language for the unfolding of his ideologically-marked drama, firmly inscribed in the modernistic tradition of thought, its systems of ideas and beliefs which have characterized most of the twentieth century. When Eddie, the humanist teacher, calls his students “gentlemen” or *Mr Price*, *Mr Murray*, he is prompting them to respect & to self-respect, to the fundamental seriousness underpinning the joke-cracking business. But he can also be fatherly encouraging and friendly, persuasive too, by calling them by their first names or nicknames occasionally. Stoppard’s use of language, on the other hand, is anything but realistic: it tends to de-personalise his characters as in Hannah’s reply to Valentine “I

³ Ibid., II:5, pp. 60–61.

don't know when I've received a more unusual proposal," little time after Lady Croom's "I do not know when I have received a more unusual compliment, Mr Hodge," making it therefore impossible for us to identify characters through their language as we would with Shakespeare sometimes. Let us remember that this is the author of *Rosenkrantz and Guildenstern are Dead* who thus proceeds. His treatment of language in *Arcadia* helps explain the curious flatness of the play's characters, a fact that makes them interchangeable. Also, this makes for the cancellation of the historical perspective, visually expressed by the accumulation of objects on the table, or by the Regency clothes sported by the contemporary Crooms at the end of the play for the mask ball. As when the silent Gus who, according to directions, "takes [the audience] a moment to realise that he is not Lord Augustus" comes to Hannah with Thomasina's final drawing of Septimus, the hermit, and hands it to her, a drawing which had actually been given to Augustus before. The décor, the furniture, are invested with a double meaning: in the scenes taking place early nineteenth century they can be considered "modern" or fashionable, and as such an indication to the audience of the time when the action takes place, with all its connotations. In the contemporary ones, they become "period" pieces, valuable not only intrinsically through the material and art employed in their making, but also as "antiques," and therefore now become an indication of wealth, refinement, and status. And yet, when contemporary Gus appears dressed as Lord Augustus of the 1800s, you are baffled. And when you see on the table Lady Thomasina's object next to those of his descendant Valentine, you do not know where you are anymore, from the perspective of Time! And yet, you sense you are evaluating actually that very dimension, and what it makes to the concept of "meaning" and "knowledge," in fact you become to

question the very possibilities of such a thing to exist. Because Bernard, the Oxford don, is presenting as results of his research on Byron to Byron London Society a carefully argued report which we, the audience, *know*, in our role as witnesses, to be fundamentally *wrong*. Or, on a minor key, sweeter too, when Valentine feeds the turtle on the table which he calls Speed, we are tempted to think, on the basis of the cliché that turtles live long, whether it is not really Plautus, the turtle of Septimus, from *two* centuries before!!

The classroom relationship in *Arcadia* is further stylized into a dance first, into an amorous embrace then. That Thomasina loved her tutor there is little doubt; Septimus instead is a character far more difficult to assess. He had sex with "the Chater woman," he appeared to be hopelessly in love with Thomasina's mother, a matter Thomasina herself would willingly discuss with him if only she were allowed to. Yet, there are hints that point into that direction, i.e. allow us to study his love for Lady Croom as a probable displacement of his real interest. He knew better than fell for his teen lady charge. But he seems to be going towards her through time & space all along the development of the play with "the Chater woman" and Lady Croom as steps towards her and beyond her, into nonsense, an incalculable idea.

Some think the end of the play to be sentimental. Hannah says in I:2 p. 28, "I don't like sentimentality." Elsewhere she says she does not like dancing. Yet there she is, dancing and being sentimental, against all the Newtonian Laws of possibility—gestures that transcend language, language that transcends learning.

The metaphor of the classroom receives thus from Stoppard a postmodernistic handling in that it is taken up only to be discarded, left on the table as yet another token of the old times, of forgotten rhetorics, a quaint reminder of other codes, like that of courtesy, dropped

since. As when he contrasts for instance the elegant witty repartees (of Shavian flavour) in the lady Thomasina's period with the gross vulgar exchanges among Hannah, Bernard, Valentine in our own; in Griffiths, although challenged, the metaphor of the classroom was still functioning, as when he benevolently receives the application of the "Paqui" student for the following term at the end of the play, a metaphor still very much alive as the irreplaceable tool/place for things otherwise left unsaid or unsayable.

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(and version mentioned in second footnote; Stoppard is said to correct his plays continually as they are in performance)

Videography

- Author's home recording of the TV (shortened) version of *Comedians*, BBC, 1980
- National Theatre's recording of their 1993 performance (available at the Theatre Museum, Covent Garden, by appointment only)

Paul Auster

The Locked Room

(fragmento)

Traducción de Sofía Estévez

It seems to me now that Fanshawe was always there. He is the place where everything begins for me, and without him I would hardly know who I am. We met before we could talk, babies crawling through the grass in diapers, and by the time we were seven we had pricked our fingers with pins and made ourselves blood brothers for life. Whenever I think of my childhood now, I see Fanshawe. He was the one who was with me, the one who shared my thoughts, the one I saw whenever I looked up from myself.

But that was a long time ago. We grew up, went off to different places, drifted apart. None of that is very strange, I think. Our lives carry us along in ways we cannot control, and almost nothing stays with us. It dies when we do, and death is something that happens to us every day.

Seven years ago this November, I received a letter from a woman named Sophie Fanshawe. "You don't know me," the letter began, "and I apologize for writing to you like this out of the blue. But things have happened, and under the circumstances I don't have much choice." It turned out that she was Fanshawe's wife. She knew that I had grown up with her husband, and she also knew that I lived in New York, since she had read many of the articles I had published in magazines.

The explanation came in the second paragraph, very bluntly, without any preamble. Fanshawe had disappeared, she wrote, and it was more than six months since

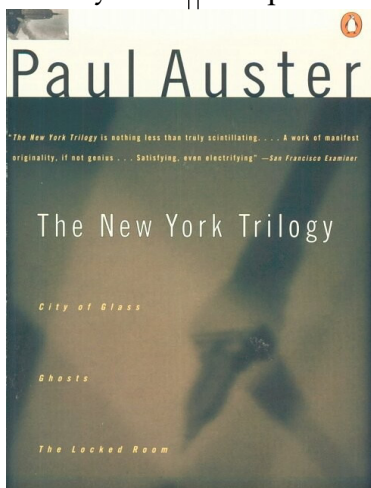
Ahora me parece que Fanshawe siempre estuvo allí. Él es el lugar donde todo comienza para mí, y sin él apenas sabría quién soy. Nos conocimos antes de que aprendiéramos a hablar, bebés en pañales gateando por el césped, y a los siete años ya nos habíamos pinchado los dedos con alfileres y nos habíamos convertido para siempre en hermanos de sangre. Ahora, cada vez que recuerdo mi infancia, veo a Fanshawe. Él era el que me acompañaba, con quien compartía mis pensamientos, el que veía siempre cuando

levantaba la mirada.

Pero esto fue hace mucho tiempo. Crecimos, tomamos rumbos diferentes, nos distanciamos. Pienso que nada de eso es extraño. La vida nos lleva por caminos que no podemos controlar, y casi nada permanece con nosotros. Muere con nosotros, y la muerte es algo que nos sucede cada día.

En noviembre hará siete años que recibí una carta de una mujer llamada Sophie Fanshawe. «Usted no me conoce», comenzaba la carta, «y le pido disculpas por escribirle tan inesperadamente. Pero algo ha ocurrido, y dadas las circunstancias no tengo opción.» Resultó ser la esposa de Fanshawe. Ella sabía que yo había crecido junto a su esposo, y también que yo vivía en Nueva York, ya que había leído muchos de mis artículos publicados en revistas.

Lo explicaba todo en el segundo párrafo, de modo brusco y sin preámbulos. Decía que Fanshawe había desaparecido, y que ya habían pasado más de seis meses desde la última vez



she had last seen him. Not a word in all that time, not the slightest clue as to where he might be. The police had found no trace of him, and the private detective she hired to look for him had come up empty-handed. Nothing was sure, but the facts seemed to speak for themselves: Fanshawe was probably dead; it was pointless to think he would be coming back. In the light of all this, there was something important she needed to discuss with me, and she wondered if I would agree to see her.

que lo había visto. Hasta ese momento no había recibido ni una palabra, ni siquiera una pista de dónde podría estar. La policía no había encontrado rastro alguno, y el detective privado que ella había contratado también había terminado con las manos vacías. Todavía no era seguro, pero las pruebas hablaban por sí solas: era muy probable que Fanshawe estuviera muerto; no tenía sentido pensar que él regresaría. En vista de todo esto, necesitaba hablar conmigo de algo importante, y quería saber si yo aceptaría reunirme con ella.

The Balkans – A Mosaic

Introduction

In *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language*, chapter dealing with Ethnic and National Identity, p. 37, n° 13, about the Balkan States, David Crystal says that current information on the minority languages in the states formerly comprising Yugoslavia, is unavailable due to the changing political situation in the area since 1991. Varieties of Serbo-Croatian, the former Union language, are still used, but the differences between Serbian and Croatian are now strongly emphasized.

In truth, there is also Slovenian, spoken in Slovenia, and Macedonian, spoken in Macedonia, both of them former Yugoslav republics, situated in the north and south of the country respectively. Moreover, Albanian has an official status in the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and Hungarian is a minority language in Voivodina, the borderland on the Danube.

In addition, Bosnia-Herzegovina makes the picture of ethnic and linguistic identities still more complex, on account of a certain superposition and interference of ethnic and linguistic differences and similarities in a small area.

The puzzling reality requires some basic clarification from the geographical, historical, ethnic and linguistic point of view.

The Balkans or Balkan States

The Balkans or Balkan States are occupying the Balkan Peninsula, the most eastern of the three southern European peninsulas.

The Balkan Peninsula is bounded by the rivers Danube and Sava in the north-east. It is surrounded by the Adriatic, the Aegean, the Mediterranean, the Sea of Marmara and the

Black Sea. Named after the range of the Balkan Mountains crossing Bulgaria, parallel to the Danube, from the Yugoslav border to the Black Sea, it includes Albania, Macedonia, Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Romania and the European Turkey. Consequently, it is the home to various ethnic groups with different languages and cultures.

Geography apart, when we think of the Balkans, we associate the term with an idea of instability, unrest and conflicting interests, particularly in certain areas of the former Yugoslavia. On the other hand, we don't think of Greece as a Balkan country, although it is part of the same peninsula. Neither do we think of Slovenia and Croatia as of Balkan countries, because they both belong culturally to Central Europe. Many of their leading personalities studied at the universities of Prague and Vienna or in Italy, and were culturally active while living within the frame of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

The whole of the peninsula is, in fact, an ethnic, linguistic and cultural mosaic, produced by migrations and invasions of peoples of different racial origin, by the rise and fall of empires, by the ebb and flow of national awareness and inspired leadership as well as by the changing context of contacts or isolation.

Who is who?

At times, it might be convenient to turn our thought away from the contemporary state of things we know but do not quite understand, back to the past, in search of clarification.

As a matter of fact, there were three Yugoslavias altogether. Croatia and Slovenia were part of the first two.

The first Yugoslavia was a kingdom, created after the First World War, in 1918, by an agreement of *three* Slavic nations, Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia, to be ruled by the Serbian House of Karadjordjević, from the Serbian Capital Belgrade. The original name of the new country was the “Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.” In 1929, it was changed to “Yugoslavia,” meaning “The Land of Southern Slavs.”

The second Yugoslavia was a restoration of the first, after the Second World War, in 1945. With only slight territorial corrections, it became a union of *six* socialist republics. That is to say that on the same territory, the number of constituent republics was doubled, when Bosnia, Montenegro and Macedonia were officially recognized their individual identities within the Federal State of Yugoslavia.

In the 1990s, this second Yugoslavia was dismembered and survived nominally in the third Yugoslavia, comprising only Serbia, Montenegro and the Territory of Kosovo. The rest of the former Yugoslav republics gained their independence and now they enjoy the status of fully independent nation-states. But the latest change has taken place on February 4th this year. After long considerations, Serbia and Montenegro decided to call their Union simply “Serbia and Montenegro,” for a greater flexibility. And it is the end of the third Yugoslavia.

Southern Slavs were separated from the main body of the large Slavic language family by the Huns who wedged themselves between the north-eastern and south-western Slavic branch. Coming from the Black Sea, the Huns had overrun much of Europe under Attila, in the middle of the fifth century and later on, until they settled, by 896, in the modern Hungary, known as Hungarians or Magyars.

Yugoslavia had been devised to unite and protect the southern Slavs in accordance with the saying that “Union is Strength.” But the

separatist tendencies were strong from the very beginning.

Centripetal forces created Yugoslavia, centrifugal forces destroyed it. Consanguinity certainly worked in favour, while cultural context worked against the acceptance of contingencies of living under the same roof. The breakdown of the centennial Austro-Hungarian imperial frame had changed the political map of Europe providing conditions for totally new options. Right or wrong, decisions had to be taken in one sense or another, although they were in many aspects a matter of opinion, in an uncertain atmosphere.

Serbo-Croatian

As far as language is concerned, the compound Serbo-Croatian was adopted as name for the compulsory subject matter in secondary school education throughout the new country, according to the principle of homogeneity: one nation-state—one language. But ideas cannot be imposed on people.

The sole existence of a Serbo-Croatian language was questionable, not so much on account of mutual intelligibility, which certainly existed to a high degree, in spite of differences in grammar and vocabulary. It was arousing mistrust because there existed a strong *feeling* against it. Most of the population felt that they spoke a Slavic *language* of their own, not a *dialect*, and many people did not even speak Serbian or Croatian. So, reason, sentiment and a sense of reality, were often pushing in opposite directions. And what is more, the identity process of differentiation had already culminated in important language documentation and in highly qualified literary tradition.

Besides, there was a powerful visual reason in the written language, which split the formula Serbo-Croatian, on account of a different alphabet Serbians and Croats used. The Croatian alphabet is Latin or Roman, while the

Serbian is Cyrillic. The use of different characters was a barrier in itself; they had to be learnt previous to reading and understanding. On the other side, even the same alphabet has to be adapted to the sound-system of every particular language. So, the Cyrillic alphabet, used by Russians, Bulgarians, Macedonians and Serbs is not exactly the same, either in the shape of individual letters or in the number of characters.

The Cyrillic alphabet is named after St. Cyril, but it was actually derived from the Greek alphabet in the ninth century, by two highly educated Greek brothers from Salonica, Sts. Cyril and Methodius, called Apostles of Slavs. Broadly speaking, the Cyrillic alphabet has been adopted by the eastern Slavic nations, belonging to the Orthodox Church, and Latin alphabet by those belonging to the Roman Church, in the West.

Ancient Illyrians

The presence of numerous Illyrian tribes in the Balkans and on the Adriatic Sea, long before the arrival of Slavs and other newcomers in the area, is a historical fact of significance for a better understanding of the early European history. Although they left no written records about themselves, other ancient authors, inscriptions and archaeological finds are pointing at the Indo-European origin of the Illyrian peoples. Coming from the East, they occupied the lands between the Danube, Sava and Drava rivers and the Adriatic Sea, from Fiume (Rijeka) to Durrës (Dyrrachium) in the South. Some of them even migrated over land or sea into Italy. In the North, in what is now Slovenia, on one side, and Veneto, on the other side, they came into contact and mingled with Celts.

Clear traces of Celtic influence have been discovered within the territory of the Japodes, an Illyrio-Celtic tribe, who once occupied part of Slovenia and the Croatian Lika.

The Veneti's Illyrian origin is still controversial since Venetic language and proper names bear little resemblance to their Balkan counterparts. There is, however, sufficient archaeological evidence for Illyrian migrations into Italy. There is also a close resemblance between the name of the Iapyges, neighbours of the Italian Messapi, and the Iapodes of the north-western Balkans.

In the South, Thracians and Macedonians were probably of the same Illyric stock, but they were strongly influenced by the Greek, who established a number of trading colonies in their region. The present day city of Durrës, developed from the Greek colony Epidamnus, founded in the seventh century BC. Another famous Greek colony and cultural center on the coast was Apollonia.

The Illyrian inward boundaries were never clearly defined, but they included part of the modern Slovenia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Montenegro, part of Serbia, Albania and part of Greece. Due to the loose tribal organization and lack of a central authority, the Illyrians were unable to create a strong national State. Chieftains, chosen by the councils of elders used to extend their rule over the neighbouring tribes and establish short-lived kingdoms.

Agriculture, warfare and piracy were the characteristic features of the Illyrian way of life, but they were by no means totally uncouth. Illyrian friezes have been discovered near the present day Slovenian Capital, Ljubljana, representing ritual sacrifices, battles and sporting events.

The Illyrian culture is characterized by the archaeological remains, representative of a period of transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age, towards the end of the second millennium BC, comparable to the Hallstatt culture in Central Europe, usually associated with the Celtic population.

The arrival of the Illyrians in the Balkans, in the thirteenth century BC, is coincident with

the fall of Troy and a large-scale westward migration movement of peoples from the eastern Mediterranean, by the end of the Bronze Age.

Evidence of Illyrian migration from Asia Minor is found in several ancient texts. In Homer's *Iliad*, *Dardanian* allies were fighting alongside with the Trojans, against the Achaeans (Greek), at the time of the Trojan War. There were no other people named Dardanians but the tribe of Illyria. They could have been akin to the Trojans or Trojans straightforward, since Dardanus was the mythical founder of Troy and ancestor to the Dardanians, as stated in the *Iliad*. In addition, archaeological finds in the vicinity of the ancient Troy have been recognized as Illyrian prototype.

A piece of an ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic writing also supports the idea of the Illyrian origin in Asia Minor. In the thirteenth century BC, Ramses the Great of Egypt fought a battle with the Hittites and their allies, recorded by the Egyptians as "Drdny." Again, there were no other people with a similar name except for the Dardanians of Illyria.

Moreover, a connection has been discovered between the language of the ancient Phrygians in Asia Minor and the Illyrian language. So, the Bryges, an ancient Illyrio-Thracian tribe of Macedonia or Thrace, and the Phrygians would be essentially the same people.

Illyrian tribes

Among the numerous Illyrian tribes only those will be mentioned in particular, who inhabited the western part of the Balkan peninsula for over two thousand years and left behind their names in the local geography or in the collective memory of their Slavic heirs.

The *Liburnians* once occupied part of the Istrian peninsula (Istra), the northern Adriatic and its islands. They were skilful seafarers and soon became masters of the Adriatic Sea. Their swift sailing craft were eventually adopted by

the Romans and named after them "liburniae," in Latin. The Liburnian trading vessels travelled both Adriatic coasts, but they were also engaged in piracy and their raids provoked the Greek and the Romans alike. In the earliest conflict, recorded by Strabo, the Liburnians were turned out of the island of Corcyra (Corfu), off the Albanian coast, by the Corinthians. In the war with Rome, on the other hand, they were forced into submission to the rising Roman power.

The *Dalmatae* or *Dalmatians* occupied the Croatian coast. Their territory was part of the kingdom of Illyria until 180 BC when they declared themselves independent of Gentius, the King of Illyria. The Dalmatians were the last of the Illyric tribes to be subdued by the Romans, in 9 AD, under the Emperor Tiberius, when they joined the Pannonians in revolt against Rome.

The *Ardiaean*s, once an inland tribe, established themselves on the Montenegrin coast. In the third century BC, they were one of the most powerful Illyrian tribes. In 168, however, they were driven back inland where they disappeared.

The *Dardani* or *Dardanians* of Kosovo and southern Serbia, lived in constant warfare with the Macedonians, from the fourth to the second century BC. They were subdued first by the Ardiaeans and afterwards by the Romans.

In the South, in the present day Albania, Illyria remained a powerful kingdom with its Capital at Scodra (Skadar), until 180 BC, the year in which the Dalmatians declared their independence.

The Kingdom of Illyria had been created by Bardhyllus (385–358 BC), a Dardanian who nearly destroyed the Kingdom of Macedonia. He was succeeded by members of the royal houses of the Ardiaeans and Dardanians.

The Romans fought three so-called Illyrian or Macedonian wars. In the days of Teuta, Queen Regent in behalf of the minor Pinnes,

the unruly chieftains got all the freedom they wanted. As a result, the Adriatic and the Ionian Sea were plundered by the Illyrian pirates. The Greek asked Rome for help and in 229 BC it provoked the first Illyrian War in which Teuta had to accept the Roman peace terms. Ten years later, Demetrius, disregarding the treaty, sided with the Macedonians against the Romans. In 219 it caused the Second Illyrian War, ending with the Illyrian retreat. In the second century, Gentius, the last Illyrian King (180–168 BC) made the same mistake. He renewed the association with Macedonians against Rome and provoked the third Illyrian War. In the battle of Pydna, in 168 BC, both Illyrians and Macedonians were forced to surrender and it meant the end of the Illyrian and Macedonian independence.

For the Romans, the victory removed an obstacle to their territorial expansion in the East. Gentius and his family were taken prisoners to Rome and Illyria became part of the Roman Province of “Illyricum.” With the subjugation of the Dalmatians in 9 AD, all of Illyria was united in the Province of Illyricum.

The boundaries and the size of Illyricum were often changed. Before 10 AD, it extended from the river Danube to the Macedonian border and the Adriatic Sea. In 10 AD the Pannonian territory was separated from Illyricum and a new province of Pannonia was created for the protection of the Danubian border. Soon afterwards, the name of Dalmatia was given to the ancient part of Illyricum. The lands of the ancient Illyria were divided among the provinces of Dalmatia, Macedonia and Epirus.

Under the Roman rule

The Roman rule brought prosperity and cultural development to the Illyrian population. The Illyrian clansmen had to pledge allegiance to the emperor, but they retained their local authority. The Romans, on their part, established numerous military camps and

colonies on the coast, they built aqueducts and military and trade routes. Via Egnatia, for instance, connected the ports of Dyrrhachium and Apollonia with Thessalonike and Byzantium. The Greek city of Byzantium was made the Capital of the Byzantine Empire by Constantine the Great. It was renamed Constantinople in his honour. Later on, in 1453, when it was captured by the Turks, they called it Istanbul.

By the end of the second century AD, the Hellenistic ideal of Paideia and Humanism ceased to influence the Roman life. Currents of mystic oriental teachings were spreading more and more from the lower social classes to the higher strata of society until the Roman Hellenistic world got notably orientalized. The result was a cosmopolitical equality with the Romans, of all the nationalities within the empire. It brought over a denationalization and hastened the end of the Western Empire.

Although the idea of the government by the senate had still been maintained, the Praetorians in Rome and the legions in the provinces started proclaiming emperors their non-Italic commanders. The vigorous “barbarous” people in the romanized provinces were taking over the political and military leadership from the weakened Italo-Roman families.

The province of Africa was the first to reach its highpoint under the dynasty of Septimius Severus, called “the African.” Severus, governor of the upper Pannonia, was proclaimed Emperor by his troops and governed from 193 to 211 AD. He secured the Roman rule in Syria and took Byzantium on his way to Moesia. Athens also lost its independence at that time, and it presaged the end of the Hellenic spiritual supremacy over the Romans.

Severus was not conditioned by the Roman tradition in his quest of power. So, religion became centered on the divine cult of the Emperor, the autonomy of Rome was destroyed

and the City put under an Imperial Procurator.

When people of the provinces were given the same rights as those enjoyed by the Italic population, Illyrian, Asian and African soldiers could rank up in the legions. After twenty-five years of service most of them, especially those rooted on the border, remained in touch with their legions, sending their sons to the same garrison. Severus dissolved the Praetorian cohorts and created a new Guard with soldiers of barbaric origin from the Danube. The opposition between the Roman Praetorians and the provincial legions disappeared and the passage to the Praetorian élite corps represented an advancement. It had, however, harmful effects on the combativeness of the Italic men who had to face the defence of Italy and Rome against the northern Germanic invaders, soon afterwards.

The year 238, with four emperors and a Civil War, is seen as the beginning of a large-scale Germanic pressure on the Roman Empire. Gothic tribes were pushing forwards on the Rhine, they also crossed the Danube and occupied the northern Moesia. Another threat was the growth of the new Persian Empire. So the Romans had to fight simultaneously on two fronts. It could have brought a collapse to the Roman power in a short run, had Diocletian not created a mobile army corps needed for the simultaneous defence against two foes.

Illyrian emperors

The warlike Illyrians distinguished themselves as soldiers in the Roman legions and they were also a significant part of the Praetorian Guard. Their allegiance to Rome allowed them to move up ranks rather quickly and eventually they acceded to the throne in the Roman as well as in the Byzantine Empire. Proclaimed Emperors by their soldiers, several of them were also assassinated by the same soldiers, after a short rule.

In difficult circumstances, the army on the Danube made emperor the Pannonian *Decius* (249–251) who opens the line of the Illyrian emperors. Trying to block the retreat of the Goths over the Danube, he fell in his attempt, together with his son, in 251.

Claudius, the Gothicus (268–270), a Roman officer in the army, was proclaimed emperor at the death of the emperor Gallienus. He won several victories over the Gothic invaders.

Aurelian (270–275), born in Moesia, dedicated his life to the restoration of the Empire and to the general welfare of the people. He also started building a new wall around the City of Rome, most of which is still standing. It was completed by his successor Probus.

Probus (276–282), born in the Pannonian town of Sirmium (Mitrovica), continued Aurelian's work. He did not only lead successful military campaigns against the Germanic tribes but also made his soldiers contribute to the general welfare with public works, such as draining of marshy lands and introducing viticulture. War prisoners and subdued tribes were resettled as colonists. These works of peace irritated the military and Probus was killed in spite of his probity which had inspired his proclamation by the soldiers who were seeing in him "a brave, pious, restrained, merciful and upright man," so that he had been unanimously acclaimed: *Probe, Auguste, dii te servant!* ("Probus, Emperor, may Gods protect Thee!").

Diocletian (284–305), a Dalmatian by birth, changed his name Diokles into Diocletianus. He saved the Empire from disintegration, introducing profound institutional reforms. His confidants were made joint emperors or sub-emperors, called Augusti. The system worked for some time, then it led to internal strife. Rome ceased to be the Emperor's residence since the joint rule was determined on the basis of geographical division, with a local capital for each ruler. Diocletian himself exercised the unifying supreme authority. He chose

Nicomedia for his capital to keep back both, the Goths and the Persians. After a lifelong indefatigable activity, Diocletian fell seriously ill. In 305, he resigned the throne and retired to this palace in Salonia (modern Split), in Dalmatia, where he died in 313.

Constantine the Great (324–337) accepted Christianity and defeated the other Augusti. There were four at that time. In 312, he entered Rome with his army bearing the emblem of the Cross on their shields. Immediately, he issued his Milan Edict of Tolerance, introducing religious freedom. The Imperial Capital was transferred from Rome to Byzantium, renamed after him, Constantinople.

Justin I (518–527), born of Dardanian parents, was elected to the throne at the age of seventy. In his reign, the Slavs began to settle on the Empire's northern border.

Justinian (527–565) was probably also of Illyrian descent. He recaptured most of the lost territory from the Germanic invaders and kept the Slavs at bay. Unlike his illiterate Illyrian predecessors, he had acquired an early education at Constantinople. He codified the Roman Civil Law into what is known as the Justinian Code. He also built the famous Byzantine church Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

Albania, the last of Illyria

Albania, a small mountainous country in the south-western Balkans, between Greece and Yugoslavia, is of difficult access from the East. In the West, it is facing the port of Brindisi on the Italian side of the Strait of Otranto.

Albanian, the native language of its inhabitants, is closely related to the Illyrian, an indoeuropean language, spoken in the ancient Illyria all along the Adriatic Sea. The Kingdom of Illyria conquered by the Romans in 168 BC, was only the southern part of the region occupied by the Illyrians. Broadly speaking, it was the present day Albania. Incorporated into

the Roman province of Illyricum it was part of the Roman and later of the Byzantine Empire far into the fifth century AD. Then it was conquered successively by the Goths, Slavs, Normans and Turks. It remained under the Turkish rule until 1912, when it was declared independent. During the First World War, it was occupied by French, Italian and Serbian troops. Recognized a sovereign State in 1920, it was invaded once more and annexed to Italy. During the Second World War it was occupied by the Greek and the German until it was finally liberated by the Allied forces in 1944.

The sole list of invasions and invaders proves that a timely documentation of the Albanian language was of impossible achievement until recently. A dictionary and a grammar written down in a chosen alphabet are, nevertheless, the very basic factors in the making of a nation. The official Albanian alphabet was introduced only in 1909, using the Roman or Latin characters.

The troubled history of the country is unavoidably reflected in the language. As a result of consecutive invasions and long periods of alien rule, a great deal of foreign vocabulary, mostly Turkish, has been definitely incorporated into the Albanian lexicon.

Modern Albanian is an example of the revitalization of a language. The Albanian language is now studied intensively at the University of Tirana, the Albanian Capital, and in Italy, where many Albanians live. They co-operate in the *Studia Illyrica*, aiming at a unified national language, made of two dialects, the Gheg in the North and the Tosk in the South of the country. Much of the original vocabulary and structure is certainly lost or changed, but new vocabulary and new uses are being developed, in consonance with the modern needs of communication. And the ruling class are proud of being Shiptars (Albanians) as they call themselves.

The explanation of the Illyrian name is still controversial. There seems to be a connection

between the Illyrian name and the ancient mythological serpent known to the Hittites. And, in Greek, the root word in the Illyrian name means “to wind.” But the Albanian scholars find their own interpretation more satisfactory. They argue that the root in the Albanian “Ileret” is “I-lir” which means “free,” so the meaning of the name Illyrians would be “Free men” and the meaning of Illyria is “the land of the free.”

Two powerful neighbours

One of the Illyrian branches in the north were most probably Veneti or Venetians who established themselves on the north Adriatic coast and in Istra.

Venice, seaport and capital of the Veneto region, gained control of the Adriatic Sea and expanded its trade between Europe and Asia. At its height, the Venetian power extended along the Dalmatian coast as far as Dubrovnik (Ragusa).

Dubrovnik was founded in the 7th century and prospered to the point of rivaling Venice. Soon afterwards, both Venice and Dubrovnik suffered from the Turkish competition. Dubrovnik had to pay Turkey a tribute in gold coins, called “ducats,” current at that time in Europe, in exchange for its autonomy. Venetian power in its turn was weakened in the struggle with the Turks, from 1453 to 1718. Venice fell to Napoleon Bonaparte in 1797, and became part of Italy in 1868, together with her possessions along the Dalmatian coast. That is why the Venetian lion, symbol of the Venetian rule, can still be seen on ancient public buildings along the Eastern Adriatic.

The *Ottoman* or *Turkish Empire* was a Moslem State, founded in 1288, by Osman I, in Asia Minor. It expanded through Asia Minor and through the Balkans to Thrace, in 1345. After the victory at Kosovo, in 1389, the Turks took Serbia and Bulgaria. In 1453 they captured Constantinople. They even reached Vienna in

1529 and 1683, but failed to conquer it. Jan Sobiesky, King of Poland, relieved the City when it was besieged in 1683. The Turks were definitely defeated to return never again.

Serbia and Kosovo

In the battle of Kosovo Polje (the Field of Kosovo), in 1389, the Turks defeated a combined army of Serbs, Albanians, Bosnians, Montenegrins and Bulgarians, breaking the power of Serbia and Bulgaria. Serbia became first a vassal state and then part of the Ottoman Empire. It recovered independence four centuries later under Karadjordje, in 1828. After the First World War it became the core of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, in 1918.

Serbia emerged as a principality in the 9th century, subject to the Byzantine Empire. In 1227 the Serbs crowned their own King, Under the Czar Dusan the Powerful (1331–1335), Serbia became the dominant power in the Balkans. But it was overthrown at Kosovo.

The battle of Kosovo is of great significance in the History of Serbia. It is felt as a national tragedy with its epic heroes and a Serbian Antigona in the battlefield. Kosovo is now an autonomous province of Serbia, with largely Albanian population. Its Capital is Pristina.

Serbia would have no access to the sea if it were not through Montenegrin ports. Boka Kotorska, Budva and Ulcinj belonging to Montenegro.

Ulcinj, built on a promontory between two bays, is the oldest town on the Adriatic Sea. According to the tradition, it had been founded by the Colchidians in the fifth century BC, but it often changed its name and masters. It was once ruled by Teuta, Queen of Illyria. The Illyrians were succeeded by the Greek, the Romans and Byzantines, Venice and Ottoman Turks. The Turks turned the town into their stronghold and held it for three centuries.

Maritime tradition of Boka Kotorska began in the Illyrian and Roman times. The natives of the Bay of Kotor used to see the seafarers off

(and still do so) wishing them *to have a safe voyage and a rough sea*.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

A mountainous country, cut by deep valleys and covered with forests is situated between the river Sava and the Adriatic.

From 1463 it was a Turkish province until 1878, when it became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It was a Croatian province in the first Yugoslavia, a federated republic in the second Yugoslavia, and is now an independent state.

In fact, its inhabitants, Bosnians, Croats and Serbs, are finding some difficulty in living peacefully together, without a clear territorial division, impossible of achievement; professing the Islamic, Catholic or Orthodox religion; divided ethnically, culturally and often facing problems of identity as members of mixed families.

Sarajevo, the Capital and cultural center of Bosnia and Hercegovina, retains a strong Islamic character. The name of the city is associated with the assassination, in 1914, of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, Austrian Crown Prince. The unfortunate event triggered off the World War I.

Medjugorje, too, is part of Bosnia. Not so long ago, it was a small place "amidst mountains." This is the meaning of the placename Medjugorje. Nowadays, people from far and near, Moslems included, are coming on pilgrimage to kneel before the Lady of Peace—even in the context of a recurrent civil war.

Croatia

Eastern Adriatic is nowadays actually Croatian, from the Istrian Peninsula and Rijeka (Fiume), in the North, to the extreme southern Dalmatian island of Lokrum. The Croatian culture, in its turn, is an integral part of the Centro-European culture and its farthestmost extended southern branch.

The contemporary Republic of Croatia is the meeting place of the European East and West and a link between the Central Europe and the Mediterranean. In the past, its eastern border was the dividing line between the Western and the Eastern Roman Empire, after their separation in the fourth century. Ever since the eleventh century it has been the boundary between the western Catholicism and the eastern Orthodoxy. For nearly half a millennium, from the 15th to the 19th century, it was also a military borderland between Christianity and Islam, studded with fortresses for the defence of the country and the rest of Europe against the Turks.

The Croatian land and shores have been, from times immemorial, an important place of contact for different peoples, their languages and cultures, such as the Illyrian Liburnians and ancient Greek and Romans. Prehistory and History can be read from the archaeological remains of the cities, monuments and works of art, belonging to distant periods of human settlements, long before the arrival of the Croats in the 7th century. The prominent characteristic of Croatia is its urban culture. The number and density of Croatian towns is far superior to other south European countries. The origin of Croatian cities is mainly Greek and Roman or Medieval. Each one has preserved its own character, in accordance with its particular period of foundation. The heritage of the ancient Greek colonization and the Roman urbanization, received by the Croatian settlers, is truly noteworthy.

The Greek colonization of the East-Adriatic coast and its islands dates from the 4th to the 2nd century BC. Commerce had brought the ancient Greek to Dalmatia, where they established numerous colonies, Korcula among them.

The Roman period has left a strong mark on the city of Pula, in Istra. Its magnificent amphitheatre, built in the 2nd century AD is the

best preserved architectonic shell in Europe.

The late-antique architectural complex of Diocletian's Palace is the core of the medieval Split. It is unique by the way in which subsequent centuries were transforming the Emperor's Palace into a city. The Palace was built in the fourth century AD. Within a peristyle of Roman columns and archades, Romanesque, Gothic, Renaissance and Baroque houses and palaces have been built. Diocletian's octagonal Mausoleum has been turned into a cathedral and a Romanesque bell tower has been added to it, providing the city with a vertical axis.

The Republic of Dubrovnik

The beginning of Dubrovnik as a planned city goes back to the 13th century. Its well preserved city walls and towers were built between the 14th and the 16th centuries. The city emerged as an independent state thanks to its geographical position and to the diplomatic ability of its leadership. In possession of an important merchant fleet, it was able to compete with the more powerful Mediterranean cities and stop the Ottoman advances. From the 14th to the beginning of the 19th century it was the capital of a free Croatian State, the Republic of Dubrovnik, now the Croatian Province or, in Croatian, "Županija" of Dubrovnik-Neretva.

Dubrovnik, ancient Ragusa, is the last southern Dalmatian port protected by islands. In stormy weather it could give refuge to travellers on their way to Constantinople or to the Holy Land.

Fresh water has always been of vital importance in a region made totally of calcareous rock. Stone is omnipresent in the area. It is part of the panoramic view of the country and used as building material of humble homes as well as of architectural masterpieces. In olden days, it was a blessing and an evident sign of wealth to find a fountain at the city entrance. Not even Venice could enjoy such a luxury in spite of its prominence on the Adriatic Sea. On the

neighbouring island of Korcula, under the Venetian rule, people had to use cisterns for their water supply, while abundant fresh water was brought from inland sources by aqueduct to Dubrovnik and fresh water irrigated the fertile delta of the river Neretva.

For these reasons the small city of Dubrovnik grew into the only serious rival and local counterpoise to Venice. Its 1940 metres long and up to 6 metres wide city walls enclose the renowned public buildings on its main street, called Stradun. But for a traveller, the best of Dubrovnik is that its churches, museums and palaces, including the Ducal Palace, symbol of its independence, are in walking distance and you may walk along the city wall with its 20 towers and fortresses.

The city was repeatedly devastated by earthquakes, fire and acts of war. Thus, the restoration has become a permanent responsibility of the government. Since Dubrovnik has been declared Property of Mankind, strict rules have been established for the respect of its truly unique image, harmony and homogeneity. If any restoration is needed, only traditional techniques and traditional materials, such as stone, wood and tiles, have to be employed.

Korcula

In the strife for power, the island of Korcula played a particular role. Its Capital, the city of Korcula, was strategically located on the narrowest passage between the island and the peninsula of Peljesac. The old city, an ancient Greek colony, was founded on a small promontory to control the maritime traffic. In possession of Venice, the passage of galleys and sailing ships was easily checked from its massive walls and winding byways.

Both, Korcula and Dubrovnik were built on scarp, protecting their excellent ports. While in Korcula the narrow streets lead up to the belfry of St. Mark's, on the top, in Dubrovnik the streets

descend from the scarp to the main street and to St. Blases's, Dubrovnik Patron Saint's Cathedral. Korcula's Patron Saint is obviously St. Mark the Evangelist, whose emblem, a winged lion, is the eponymous of St. Mark's in Venice and the symbol of the Venetian domination abroad.

Korcula is the largest green island on the Adriatic. Its forests supplied with wood the ancient shipbuilding industry and helped its economic development. As early as in the second millennium BC, maritime traffic had been established with the Mediterranean.

Ancient architects used the famous stone from a tiny island Vrnik, off the coast of Korcula, in the construction of Dalmatian cities. The same stone has also been used in several modern buildings, e.g. the Basilica Hagía Sophía in Istanbul and the House of Parliament in Vienna. The city of Korcula itself was built of this stone. Korcula's fortifications maintain at present the same attraction power as they exerted on the medieval writers about travels.

According to the local tradition, Marco Polo (1254–1324) had been born in Korcula and started on his journey to China from his native town. True or not, he was a Venetian anyway, since Korcula was a Venetian possession at that time.

Romania or Rumania

The history of the Romanian civilization is intimately connected with and conditioned by its geographical position as a crossroads. The country is bordering Hungary, Ukrain, Serbia, Bulgaria and the Black Sea. The Carpathian Mountains cross the southern Bukovina and divide Moldavia in the East from Transylvania in the West. The large Romanian oil wells are located in the lower Carpathians.

The only part of Romania south of the Danube is Dobrudja, a narrow low-lying coastal strip, extended into Bulgaria. The river Danube is an important waterway, connecting Romania,

upstream with the Central Europe, and downstream, through a large delta, with the Black Sea, which, in its turn, opens for Romania a maritime access through Bosphorus, to the Mediterranean and the rest of the world. No wonder that the whole region was an object of permanent interest for three large empires, the Ottoman, the Habsburg and that of the Czars.

The struggle for independence is therefore a constant feature in the Romanian history, from the ancient times to the present. Herodotus wrote in 514 BC that the Getae (Dacians), the autochthonous ancestors of today's Romanians, were "the most valiant and just of all the Thracians; the only ones who dared stand against King Dareus of Persia."

The Turks entered Europe in 1353. Gradually they conquered most of the Balkans and even reached Vienna. Thus, five countries of the Romanian history are marked by the struggle against the Turks, in which Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, the three Romanian Principalities were engaged. Their territory had never been conquered, but they retained their autonomy and the right to choose their own princes, in exchange for an annual tribute. The fact is that they were holding the Turks back from advancing towards the Central Europe.

In the 17th century the power of the Ottoman Empire was declining and the influence of the Habsburg and the Czarist Empires was growing. Romanians found themselves in the center of new threats.

The modern Romanian National State was constituted, in an initial stage, by the union of the three Romanian Principalities, Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, in 1859, when the new state was named Romania, but the present day frontiers were established only in 1946.

Trajan's Column

A world-renowned monument on Trajan's Forum in Rome is considered by the Romanians their sui generis Birth Certificate.

The Emperor Trajan had erected this white marble column to record his conquest of Dacia in 106 AD. It is over 40 metres high and embellished with relief sculptures, displayed in a spiral stripe, presumably suggested by Trajan himself. One hundred and fifty-five scenes cover the surface of the column, representing a chronicle of the Roman campaigns against the Dacians. With great realism and every detail, they are showing the passage of the Danube on a pontoon bridge, the two commanders, Trajan and Decibal, their armies, armour and stores, but there is no text.

In 117, a golden urn with the ashes of the great Emperor was laid in the socle of the column.

Another monument, Trajan's Tropaion, was set up in the conquered land in Dobrudja or Dobrogea, in 109.

A third monument to be mentioned in this context is the stone bridge across the Danube where it is 1, 127 metres wide. It was built just before the campaign began, to provide a faster and safer access to Dacia. Its remains can still be seen.

Greece

The ancient Greek were not the original inhabitants of Greece or Hellas as it has been called from the Antiquity ever since. They came from the North-East, towards the end of the third millennium BC. Thracians, followed by the Illyrians, were pushing them south. But Thracians and Illyrians never came into contact with the Mediterranean culture. The Greek, on the contrary, were strongly influenced by its superior level, compared to the northern part of the peninsula. The local inhabitants were permanent settlers, living in towns, in organized communities. While the Tessalians were still living in the Stone Age, people in the South already used bronze.

The Greek did not annihilate either people or their culture which they gradually

assimilated. The transition is reflected in their vocabulary. They incorporated not only names of places, rivers and mountains, plants and animals, but also expressions belonging to the local way of life. There are also remarkable similarities to the languages in Asia Minor.

As a result, Ancient and Classical Greece developed the earliest European civilization reaching its highest point in Athens, in the era of Pericles. But the Golden Age had its counterpart in the dark ages of wars and alien occupations.

In 146 BC, Greece became part of the Roman Empire. It was conquered by Turkey during the 14th and 15th centuries, and remained under the Turkish rule until 1821. The Golden Age and the dark ages are symbolized in the roofless Parthenon, where remains of exquisite art contrast with acts of barbarity, to attest both, the human grandeur and misery. Parthenon was well preserved until 1687, when a Venetian bombardment caused the explosion of the gunpowder stored within.

A visitor to Athens would easily read its street names and find his way around the City. But doing so, he would be reading the names of the old acquaintances he had first met in the books telling him the story of our Western Civilization. Philosophy, History, Arts and Science, Rhetoric, Literature and Language itself are associated with those names for ever, and the vocabulary they had created has become an unavoidable part of our everyday or specialized discourse.

The Greek learnt to write from Phoenicians who already used letters in their writing. But their alphabet was consonantic. They only used signs for consonants because the nature of their language did not require signs for vowels; vowels had to be supplied by the reader. It was the Greek who developed the complete alphabet adopting several of the superfluous semitic consonantic signs for vowel sounds they needed. The addition of vowel signs to the

alphabet is the greatest contribution of the Greek to our writing system.

The semitic origin of the Greek alphabet is revealed in the names of the letters: alpha, beta, and so on. The early Greek also wrote from right to left or boustrophedon, ox-turning, in alternate directions, like oxen ploughing a furrow one way, then turning and ploughing a parallel furrow the other way. They used only capital letters, without accents or punctuation. Small letters, accents and punctuation were introduced later, but the letters, be it hand-written or printed, appear separated one from the other to this day.

There were several variant forms of the Greek alphabet until the Ionian alphabet was officially introduced in Athens by Euclides, the Archon on duty in 403 BC.

The Greek alphabet was passed on to the Romans most likely via Etruria. In its simplicity it became one of the foundations of our civilization in the variants of Latin, Cyrillic and also Runic script.

But written language is conservative and cannot follow the dynamic rhythm of the constantly changing spoken language. It lags behind in the true representation of the living speech and its sounds. Language is expression of concepts and feelings which cannot all be accurately conveyed by means of written signs. Sporadic adjustments of orthography may solve the problem in part, but the rest is a matter of interpretation.

Unlike Rome and its Latin which has survived in the family of Romance languages, Classical Greek has not originated a family of languages. It is continued only in the Modern Greek, divided into the common or Demotic speech and the Neo-Hellenic, which aims at the revitalization of the classical forms in the context of modern life.

The American School of Classical Studies has excavated the ancient Agora, so you can tread where Socrates or Plato used to teach and where St. Paul had preached. Walking along

Paulou Apostolou Street you reach the place where philosophical thought and revealed religion met first.

A mosaic of visions: the way we perceive the world

Words in different languages never match up one to one. It means that the speakers of different languages actually perceive the world differently. In fact, even every individual person perceives the world differently, to a certain extent, according to his/her own personal criteria—inherited, adopted or laboriously acquired. Since language is a means of self-expression and communication, the self-expression is inevitably reflected in the very naming of whatever there exists in the surrounding reality.

A few examples in connection with the Balkans:

Family names In a telephone directory, wherever in the world, family names or surnames appear in long columns, tediously arranged in alphabetical order. But the striking thing is that the terms *family name* and *surname* are themselves revealing different perceptions of an aspect of the surrounding reality. A family name is perceived as inherited through consanguinity, while a surname is given to or imposed on a person. Names, brought from far and near by their present bearers or by their ancestors, make a society look cosmopolitan. But they also speak of individual adjustments to a new context, in pronunciation, spelling or transliteration, e.g. of Greek names. The spelling of an original name may vary greatly, and in different ways. At times, it is written down in the local spelling and its pronunciation is maintained unchanged; some other times, its spelling is left intact but the pronunciation changes. When neither of the two solutions is viable for the lack of equivalence in the target language, the name is rendered in an approximation to the original.

Spelling Ivanisevic would appear as Ivanisevic, Ivanisevich, or Ivanissevich; Jovanovic, as Jovanovic, Jovanovich or Iovanovich.

Derivation For the members of the family and belonging, *-ic* is the suffix for diminutive, meaning *son of*, and *-ov*, *-ova* or *-ev*, *-eva*, for belonging, M and F Singular, and *-ovi*, *-ove* or *-vi*, *-eve*, M and F Plural, equivalent to the Saxon Genitive ending (*'s*) in English. Examples: Petar Petrovic: Peter, Peter's son; Janovi: members of the Jan family; Kovacevi: members of the Kovac family. A married woman, e.g. Mrs. Smith, would be Sra. de Smith in Spanish, and Ga. Smithova in Slovenian

Nationality What nationality was Mother Theresa of Calcutta? She was born to Albanian parents as Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhin, in Skopje, Yugoslavia. The answer depends on the *law*. According to *ius sanguinis*, based on consanguinity, in force in European countries, she was an Albanian by birth although she had been born in Yugoslavia. Being of Albanian descent, her nationality was definitely Albanian. According to *ius soli*, the law based on the soil or birthplace, Mother Theresa was a Yugoslavian or, more exactly, a Yugoslav citizen of Albanian nationality, descent or birth. So, nationality and citizenship are no synonyms in the Old World while, on the contrary, they tend to be synonymous in the New World, often called "the melting pot of nationalities." Unlike nationality, citizenship is changeable in Europe, and it is actually often changed, through option or automatically by a new arrangement of jurisdictions. The people of Trieste, e.g., mostly of Italian and Slovene descent, were in the past century successively Austrian, Italian, Free City of Trieste and Italian citizens again.

Minorities Closely related with the idea of nationality is the idea of *minorities*. The term may be applied to different situations and is therefore easily misunderstood.

Miquel Siguan, in his "Bilingualism and

Languages in Contact, " proposes the following typification of minorities:

- Autochthonous linguistic minorities, left aside by the linguistic unification, sharing a common national project, like Catalonia in Spain;
- Autochthonous minorities speaking the language of a neighbouring country, but within a clear territorial location of their home;
- Autochthonous indigenous minorities, sharing the geographical space but without taking part in the national project of the majority.
- Immigrated minorities, distributed over the vast territories of their hosts, literally out-rooted. Integration into the surrounding society is vital and a must for them.

The relationship between the linguistic identity and the ethnic and national identity often differs from the traditional national states of Europe, where minorities are usually produced by rectifications of boundaries. In this sense, there is, for instance, an important Albanian minority in Kosovo, there are Slovenian minorities in Austria and Italy, a Magyar minority in Slovenia, etc.

Common nouns In examples such as "St. Paul wrote *letters* to Corinthians, " "St. Paul's *Epistle*, 1 Cor. 1–13" and "*Carta* a los Hebreos, " the nouns *letter*, *epistle* and *carta* may be taken as equivalent in meaning. In fact, they are equivalent to a certain point, enough for understanding, although they are conveying different shades of meaning. They imply a different underlying idea at the back of the writer's mind, in his ancestral mind's eye. In writing a *letter*, the idea is that of the *a-b-c-d*— of the *written form* of language. In writing an *epistle*, the original Greek word *epistolé* refers to what is transmitted, *sent*: one's thoughts, affection, i.e. the message. In *la carta*, there is a reference to the paper, that is to say, to the *material piece of writing* the postman would deliver to the addressee's home.

Linguistic areas Certain linguistic features of pronunciation and grammar may extend over several countries and different languages. Regardless of national boundaries they constitute linguistic areas within a broader context of geographical identity.

Features of pronunciation are often shared by historically unrelated languages. Thus, in Europe, the affricate “ts” is found in languages on the periphery: in Slavic languages, Romanian, Hungarian, Spanish, Italian and English, but not in French or German. In the 17th century, the people of Paris began to use the uvular variant of /r/. It spread through most of France and to parts of Italy, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland and Germany.

The Balkans constitute a well defined linguistic area in several aspects. For example, the Romanian, Bulgarian, Macedonian and Albanian, place the definite article after the noun, whereas historically related languages outside the Balkans, such as Italian, do not. The Romanian *lup* (wolf) becomes *lupul* (the wolf); *tratat* (treatise) becomes *tratatul* (the treatise).

The Romanian Language

Among the Neo-Latin speaking nations, the Romanians alone have maintained their ethnic appellation derived from Rome, the capital of the ancient Roman Empire. The term *Romania* was originally applied to the territorial extension within which the Roman (Latin) language was spoken. The first to use the unifying name Romania for the three historically separated Romanian Principalities, namely, Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania, taken as a whole, was the writer Ion Heliade Radulescu, in 1838, but the modern Romanian National State was constituted in an initial stage by the union of the three Principalities in 1859, and the present day frontiers were established only in 1946.

Most of the modern Romania was once part of the ancient Dacia. The evolution of the Romanian language started with the Roman conquest of Dacia, undertaken by the Emperor Traianus, in 105–106 AD. Dacia became a Roman province and colonists were brought *ex toto orbe Romano* (from every corner

of the Empire) to settle the conquered land. There they merged with the autochthonous Thraco-Dacian and Geto-Dacian population, living on both riverbanks, into a new ethnic synthesis.

Linguistic and commercial contacts between the Dacians and the Romans had actually begun long before the conquest of Dacia and they continued after the Roman withdrawal from the northern Dacian territory, in 271 AD. The romanizing of Dacia was carried out in a relatively short time. The fact that a hundred years after the conquest, in 212, all the free inhabitants of the Roman Empire were proclaimed Roman citizens, favoured their romanization. The process of romanization meant primarily the adoption of the Latin language, the Roman Law and Administration. Traces of the Thraco-Dacian original language have, however, been preserved as a substratum of the present day Romanian language, including the name of the river Danube. Soldiers of the Roman Legions, discharged after twenty or twenty-five years of military service, were usually allotted small portions of land, to persuade them to stay in the province for life. This is the fundamental reason for the continuity and the ethnic unity of the Romanian people and their language in adverse circumstances of isolation, far from Rome and far from the other members of the Romance family of languages.

The individual physiognomy of each of the Romance languages is determined by the particular evolution of the Latin in every one of them.

As for the vocabulary, the number of words inherited directly from Latin is not really great in the Romanian language, about 2,000 words. The Latin phonetic features and the grammatical structure, on the contrary, have been preserved. Thus, the three Latin genders, the plural endings of nouns and adjectives, most of the pronouns, adverbs, conjunctions

and prepositions, the verbal conjugation system and the sentence structure, they all have their counterpart in the Latin morphology and syntax.

But there is no definite article in Latin. Moreover, the Romanian definite article is postponed and attached to the noun, while in Italian, Spanish and French, it goes before the noun and in the written language, it does not form a whole with the noun it determines.

homo (L) – *mom* (R) [man]
homo ille (L) – *omul* [the man]
fvulpe (R) [she-fox]
vulpes illa (L) – *vulpea* (R) [the she-fox]
nmanual (R) [textbook]
manualul (R) [the textbook]

The M and N singular definite articles are added to the noun by means of the linking vowel -u. The F definite article is -a. Masculine plural nouns add the definite article -i directly to the plural form, also ending in -i: *lupi* (wolves), *lupii* (the wolves).

Feminine and Neuter plural nouns add the article -le: *fvulpi*, *vulpile*; *nmanuale*, *manualele*.

In Latin, the determiners *ille*, *illa*, *illud* are demonstrative adjectives. The terms *demonstrative* and *deictic* are both “pointing at” via language, the first in Latin, and the second in Greek.

In the plural nouns, Romanian and Italian are sharing the endings -i and -e. while in the Western Romance languages the typical plural ending is -s. But the Romanian has four different plural endings: -i, -e, -uri and -le: *lup-lupi*; *tren-trenuri*; *casa-case*; *pijama-pijamale*.

In addition, the phenomenon of vocalic and consonantic alternation and an absence of fixed rules make things even more complex. Some of the nouns also have two or three plural forms for different meanings. That is why students are advised to memorize both, the singular and the plural of the nouns they are acquiring.

strada (street), *strazi*: d becomes z
iarba (herb), *ierburi*: ia becomes ie
cap (head), *capete* (heads), *capi* (leaders), *capuri* (capes georg.)

Verb a fi (to be) The present indicative of the verb *a fi* is conjugated as follows:

Eu *sunt* elev (Latin verb: *sum*)
 Tu *esti* doctor (*es*)
 El/Ea *este* professor (*est*)
 Noi *suntem* din Bucuresti (*sumus*)
 Voi *sunteti* in laborator (*estis*)
 Ei/Ele *sunt* la facultate (*sunt*)

Notice that *sunt* is used twice, for the first person singular and the third person plural. There is no equivalent for the English *it*.

Slavic influence Romanian is the only Romance language influenced by the Slavic language which added specific and permanent traits to it. Slavic migrants reached the territory between the Carpathian Mts. and the Danube in the seventh century. The impact was felt mostly in the vocabulary. About 9% of the Romanian representative basic vocabulary used in everyday spoken language are of Slavic origin. Although the Slavs arrived as conquerors, they were gradually assimilated by the autochthonous population. So much so, that they learnt the Romanian language. Words borrowed from the Slavs were adapted to the Romanian, essentially Latin, morphosyntactic system and its markers, including the Romanian definite and indefinite articles: *un izvor* (a source), *izvorul* (origin, the source), *izvoarele* (the sources). It so happened because at the time the Slavs settled in the Romanian territory, the Romanian language had already been essentially constituted as such. It was in good condition to borrow not only from the Slavic language, but also from the Madyar, German, Turkish and Modern Greek, later on.

The affirmative particle *da* In the representative basic vocabulary, made up of 2, 581 words, 233 words of the total are of Slavic origin, as a result of the Romanian and Slavic coexistence and cultural interaction. One of the 233 words is, no doubt, the affirmative particle *da*, the shortest possible answer, contrasted with the negative *nu*.

Tu esti elev? Tu nu esti Roman?
 Da/nu. Ba da/Ba nu.
 Yes/ No. Yes, I am/No, I am not.

For the question with the verb in the negative, the answer may be emphasized with *ba*: *ba da/ba nu*. In Serbian *pa da*. The affirmative *da* is Slavic, used also in Serbian, but not in the Slovene language. Slovenia is bordering Austria, a German speaking country, where the affirmative answer is *ja*. It has been adopted by the Slovenian people centuries ago.

Language of science and technology

The progress in science and technology depends largely on the use of written language. Findings of successive generations have to be transmitted in a precise, systematic and objective language to constitute a reliable and universally accessible body of knowledge on which further scientific research depends unconditionally.

The main characteristics of scientific language are: (a) the use of symbols, formulae, equations, etc., for clarity and brevity; (b) a growing technical vocabulary, based traditionally on Latin and Greek, now in process of a constant updating with mostly English terms; (c) the predominant use of noun phrases and passive constructions to avoid the vagueness and ambiguity of everyday language.

They are all centered on meeting the demands of exactness, methodical work and objectivity but they may also be producing a gap between the scientific language and the people's common speech. It seems, however, that the gap is produced much less by the new technical vocabulary than by the velocity of the scientific advance.

In the dictionary of any Indo-European language, there are so many Greek and Latin words or Greco-Latin compounds or their derivatives, incorporated in everyday language together with a large English vocabulary, that

elements from the three languages constitute a kind of lingua franca of our civilization.

The expression "It's Greek to me" often proves the contrary, since lots of Greek vocabulary are so utterly assimilated in our daily conversation, that we simply cannot do without it. We may even be unaware to what extent we are speaking Greek throughout the day.

We may go to the *cinema* or to the *theatre*, or make an appointment with our *otorhinolaryngologist*, or pay the *telephone* bill, and everybody will know what we mean.

On the other side, many people may still not have the slightest idea of what *cybernetic* means. This completely new word belongs to the computer jargon, called also cyberspeak, technospeak or technobabble, proper to a cybersociety, to cyberskills or to cyberculture.

The root *cyber* comes from the Greek verb *kubernan*, meaning "to control," the same as in the Spanish word *gobernar*, with the corresponding phonetic changes, yet recognizable.

The gap between the scientific and the everyday language is a kind of modern illiteracy, especially in the computer science and Internet. The computer illiteracy prevents a person from keeping in touch with the latest thinking and research, blocking the way to a person's full realization.

In fact, we live in a changing world. Heraclitus of Ephesus (540–475 BC) had expressed it in his doctrine of eternal flux—two and a half millenniums ago.

Conclusion

A distant panoramic view is often needed for a better vision of a whole. In the mosaic of the Balkans, extended between the Adriatic and the Black Sea, seen diachronically from its historical dawn down to the present day, the outline of a few basic facts appears clearly visible:

- Illyrian tribes make up the population substratum of the entire Balkan area and even spread beyond its limits;
- The extension of the Roman Empire covers the Illyrian substratum with the name of Rome, so that, in a sense, Illyria becomes Romania;
- A radical change of the scenery is produced with the arrival of the Slavic migrants,
- Two isolated historical witnesses have survived: Albania for the Illyrians and Romania for the Dacian outposts of the Roman Empire.

On the other side, Greece has remained herself, unique:

- she had educated Rome;
- has alphabeticized the East and the West;
- has devised the rules and vocabulary for abstract thinking,
- has created the archetypes of human behaviour;
- the essence of her culture has become Property of Mankind, with the Balkan mosaic for her background, and
- St. Paul's Epistle on Charity was originally written in Greek.

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Inés García Botana

The Metamorphosis

Fiction

All the way home in the bus and in the lift up to his flat Thomas Yersaw was in a pensive mood. So absorbed in his memories was he that it seemed to him he was alone in a crowd. Entering his room, Thomas looked around it with a feeling of sadness, recognising most of the treasured things crammed into it through the years but not caring much. Once more he felt disappointed. Once more fate seemed to be against him. Influenced by the veiled threats he had been tormented with from time to time, the constant derogatory looks cast upon him, the anguishing shame that others were suffering entirely because of him, he had now made his mind up: his decision could not be put off any longer. The secrecy and the shame of it were burdens too terrible for him to carry.

Almost three years had passed...no, four. It was four years to that very day. Four years he had been subjected to every kind of persecution. Bad luck had always been at his side. Shouts, struggles, reproaches (more and more unbearable as time went by), had led him to "a point of no return." Some people, he knew, would talk about "responsibility," "maturity," "manhood." Those magic and eternal words in which people always based their accusations! Thomas took up a wooden framed mirror and scrutinised his face. He surveyed his snub nose, his round chin. The smudges beneath his eyes were like bruises. The image of a vulnerable, trembling, exhausted face grinned back at him from the glass. The mirror reflected a window... The window... And what if... at that very moment, he were to open the balcony window...? And who would dare to prevent him from opening it...? How many steps was he from putting an end to his inner conflict?

"At the end of the day, it is the result that counts." More than once had he struggled to keep back those tears striving to come out. His earlier memories suddenly came back to him: "Men do not cry." (What do men do, then?) No answer. However, by now it was a matter of no importance.

They would cease harassing him with those absurd and menacing threats. Certainly, he had not developed his habit out of necessity but out of a very great pleasure. However hard he tried, he could not get rid of it. In the same way as things are used to starting, things come to an end. The chiming of clock. His leader's tone had become apologetic: "Everything must end this same day." "Things had come to a pretty pass." What an irony! His birthday as a deadline. Much to his concern, the die was cast. The ticking of the clock seemed to seal his fate. Time persecutes you whenever and wherever you are. Long ago he had learnt to set aside even his dearest belongings but now he almost felt he had been deprived of his dignity. To recover it, he could not live hiding himself away any longer. Perhaps in his deeper consciousness, he considered he must face up to things as they really were. He could not live switching between fantasy and reality at his personal convenience. These things leave a bitter taste in the mouth.

Hopelessly, Thomas had observed that family of his, throwing him disapproving looks, always murmuring, always whispering, always plotting against him, and the last straw: that story of those "business men" had come true. In front of those "gentlemen," a completely tactless person had revealed to them the truth about him. There is a price for everything we do. Cowardice

reflects nothing but shame on one's family. He had felt his good name sullied. If he allowed this suffering to become a routine, it would be worse. His honour was at stake.

How many stories? Ten? A hundred? Cautiously, he stood up. Bewildered, Thomas took a breath and raised his hands to the door handle. Eyes bright. With a violent effort, the door burst open. He controlled himself. Thomas stood still. Eyes shut. (How high was that building?) It might be. That did not make any difference. Not a trace would be left. If any, even some car would run it over! Thomas felt himself no longer a human being. A metamorphosis was devastating him. At least he would have the compensation of having done "his duty." The cold wind hit his face. Down in the street the usual crowd went to and fro. He stood firmly on the tips of his toes and gripped the rail tightly. In a twinkle of an eye and after fumbling in the pocket of his trousers, Thomas took out his old, and beloved company. They had been together through an entire lifetime. With all his might and main, he threw it down the street. His dearest dummy. Nibbled and chewed. That day Thomas Yersaw was six, and his tender childhood had been left behind.



Aldous Huxley

Music at Night

(fragmento)

Traducción de Mariana Alonso

Moonless, this June night is all the more alive with stars. Its darkness is perfumed with faint gusts from the blossoming lime trees, with the smell of wetted earth and the invisible greenness of the vines. There is silence; but a silence that breathes with the soft breathing of the sea and, in the thin shrill noise of a cricket, insistently, incessantly harps on the fact of its own deep perfection. Far away, the passage of a train is like a long caress, moving gently, with an inexorable gentleness, across the warm living body of the night.

Music, you say; it would be a good night for music. But I have music here in a box, shut up like one of those bottled djinns in the *Arabian Nights*, and ready at a touch to break out of its prison. I make the necessary mechanical magic, and suddenly, by some miraculously appropriate coincidence (for I had selected the record in the dark, without knowing what music the machine would play), suddenly the introduction to the *Benedictus* in Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis* begins to trace its patterns on the moonless sky.

The *Benedictus*. Blessed and blessing, this music is in some sort the equivalent of the night, of the deep and living darkness, into which, now in a single jet, now in a fine interweaving of melodies, now in pulsing and almost solid clots of harmonious sound, it pours itself, stanchlessly pours itself, like time, like the rising and the falling, falling trajectories of a life. It is the equivalent of the night in another mode of being, as an essence is the equivalent

Sin luna, esta noche estrellada de junio tiene aún más vida. Su oscuridad está perfumada con leves ráfagas de los tilos en flor, con el olor a tierra húmeda y el invisible verdor de las parras. Reina el silencio, pero un silencio que respira con la suave respiración del mar y, en el chirrido de un grillo, insistentemente, incesantemente insiste en el hecho de su absoluta perfección. A lo lejos, el paso de un tren es como una larga caricia, que recorre con suavidad, con una suavidad inexorable, el tibio cuerpo vivo de la noche.



Música, por ejemplo; sería una buena noche para escuchar música. Pero tengo música aquí en una caja, atrapada como uno de esos genios de las botellas de *Las mil y una noches*, y listo para que, con sólo rozarla, se libere de su prisión. Hago los pases de magia mecánica necesarios; y de repente, por alguna coincidencia

milagro-samente apropiada (ya que había elegido el disco en la oscuridad, sin saber qué música tocaría la máquina), inesperadamente la introducción del *Benedictus* de la *Missa Solemnis* de Beethoven comienza a trazar sus diseños en el cielo sin luna.

El *Benedictus*. Bendita bendición, esta música es de alguna manera el equivalente de la noche, de la profunda y viva oscuridad, en la que, ora en un solo chorro, ora en una delicada trama de melodías, ora en pulsantes y casi sólidos coágulos de armonioso sonido, fluye, fluye sin restañar, como el tiempo, como las trayectorias de una vida, que suben y luego... caen. Es el equivalente de la noche en otro modo de ser, como una

of the flowers, from which it is distilled.

There is, at least there sometimes seems to be, a certain blessedness lying at the heart of things, a mysterious blessedness, of whose existence occasional accidents or providences (for me, this night is one of them) make us obscurely, or it may be intensely, but always fleetingly, alas, always only for a few brief moments, aware. In the *Benedictus* Beethoven gives expression to this awareness of blessedness. His music is the equivalent to this Mediterranean night, or rather of the blessedness at the heart of the night, of the blessedness as it would be if it could be sifted clear of irrelevance and accident, refined and separated out into its quintessential purity.

esencia es el equivalente de las flores, de las que se destila.

Hay, al menos a veces parece haber, una bendición que yace en el corazón de las cosas, una misteriosa bendición, de cuya existencia accidentes ocasionales y hechos providenciales (para mí, esta noche es uno de ellos) nos hacen, oscuramente, o tal vez intensamente, pero siempre fugazmente, ¡ay!, siempre por unos pocos segundos, tomar conciencia. En el *Benedictus* Beethoven expresa esta conciencia de la bendición. Su música es el equivalente de esta noche junto al Mediterráneo; o al menos, de la bendición en el corazón de la noche, de la bendición tal como sería si se la pudiera despojar de lo superfluo y accidental, refinar y aislar en su pureza quintaesencial.

Second Language Acquisition

The psycholinguistics of bilingualism

The main questions addressed in the psycholinguistics of bilingualism concern *the representation, storage, organization, accessing, and processing of a bilingual's languages, and the degree to which the bilingual's languages are functionally dependent or independent.*

The most promising account of how a bilingual's languages are stored and related is that given by Paradis,¹ according to whom the bilingual has one set of experiential and conceptual information, that is, *one "world-knowledge" store*, and *two language stores*, one for each language, each connected to the world-knowledge store. In the language stores, conceptual features of the world knowledge are grouped together differently, so that, for instance, the English word *ball* is connected to conceptual features such as "round" and "bouncy," whereas the French word *balle* is connected, in addition, to the feature "small" and the French word *ballon* is connected, in addition, instead, to the feature "large."

The ability of bilinguals to keep their languages apart or to mix them at will, as in *code mixing* and *code switching* is of special interest in psycholinguistic studies of bilingualism. It is an ability which seems to be lost in aphasic patients: Perecman² reviews studies reporting aphasic patients using words from different languages in the same utterance, combining a stem from one language with a stem from another, blending syllables from different languages in a single

word, using the intonation of one language with the vocabulary of another, using the syntax of one language with the vocabulary of another, replacing a word with a phonetically similar word from another language, responding in a language different from the language of address, and engaging in *spontaneous translation*: the immediate and unsolicited translation of an utterance, the patient's own, or that of another speaker, into another language. How is it, then, that a healthy bilingual is able to speak either language, to switch from one to the other at will, and to prevent themselves from producing a haphazard mixture?

Penfield's³ answer to this question is that there is an automatic switching system which ensures that when one language is being used—is switched on—any other language is kept switched off. However, as some bilinguals, such as simultaneous interpreters, are able to listen to one language while speaking another, a single switching system cannot be enough. Instead, Macnamara⁴ proposes that there is one system for production and another for perception. The bilingual has control of an output switch, which enables her or him to select a language for speaking or writing, whereas the input switch is automatically controlled by the input, the language being heard or read.

However, as Taylor⁵ has pointed out, and as the experience of many bilinguals confirms, it can often take a bilingual a few seconds to comprehend part of an utterance if the language spoken has suddenly been switched, a phenomenon which tends to contradict the

¹ Paradis, M., *Contributions of Neurolinguistics to the Theory of Bilingualism*.

² Perecman, E., *Language Processing in the Bilingual: Evidence from Language Mixing*.

³ Penfield, W.P., *Epilogue: The Learning of two Languages*.

⁴ *The Linguistics Encyclopedia*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

automatic input-switch hypothesis. Nor can a switch model account for interference by one language on another, as occurs when, for instance, a bilingual inadvertently uses a word from the language he/she is not using at the time, something which most bilinguals have experienced themselves doing.

It can also be argued that there is no need to posit switches for turning the languages on or off at all. According to Paradis a bilingual simply decides to use one language rather than another, just as he/she may decide to speak or to remain silent; and according to Obler and Albert⁶ the bilingual relies on a number of linguistic clues to which language is being used. It may thus be that both a bilingual's languages are "on" all the time, although the one being used predominates.

The analysis of the speech of bilingual aphasics⁷ has been used extensively in attempts to answer questions concerning the organization in the brain and the processing of a bilingual's languages. This approach complements studies of healthy bilinguals' performance in dichotic-listening tasks and tachistoscope⁸ tests. Recent studies using these methods suggest that bilinguals process language mainly in the left hemisphere, just as monolinguals appear to do.

6 Obler, L. and Albert, M., *A Monitor System for Bilingual Language Processing*.

7 "Aphasia: loss of the ability to use and understand language, usually caused by damage to the brain. The loss may be total or partial, and may affect spoken and/or written language ability. There are different types of aphasia: agraphia is difficulty in writing; alexia is difficulty in reading; anomia is difficulty in using proper nouns; and agrammatism is difficulty in using grammatical words like prepositions, articles, etc. Aphasia can be studied in order to discover how the brain processes language" (*Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*).

8 "Tachistoscope: a mechanical apparatus which presents printed material (eg words, sentences) very briefly when a shutter or similar device is opened and closed rapidly, and which is used in research on perception and reading and sometimes in speed reading courses" (*Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*).

Most bilingual aphasic patients recover all their languages at the same rate. Some patients, however, experience only selective recovery. Minkowski,⁹ for instance, reports on a patient who never regained use of his mother tongue, Swiss German. He had learnt German, French, and some Italian at school and had, at the age of thirty moved to a French-speaking town where he became a professor of physics. After suffering a stroke, at the age of forty-four, the patient lost the use of all his languages and, although comprehension in all of them was soon restored, the patient had to relearn to speak French, which had become the patient's predominant language, returned first, followed by standard German and some Italian.

Minkowski also reports a case of *successive restitution*: a patient who had become aphasic following a motor-cycle accident at the age of thirty-two first regained almost full use of German, then of his first language, Swiss German, and then, after at least sixteen months, of Italian and French.

Minkowski reports a case of yet another pattern of recovery, namely *antagonistic recovery* of an aphasic's languages. The patient first recovered French, but as other languages were recovered, French was gradually lost. In some cases, there is *alternate antagonism*: a language is recovered, then lost as another is recovered, but is recovered again with subsequent loss of the other language, and so on.

Apparently, several factors influence the pattern of recovery of languages lost through aphasia:

- One is the degree of use of the languages just before injury occurs.
- Another is the patient's psychological state before and after the injury, that is, if a patient has a particular emotional bond with one language, that language will tend to be recovered first.
- Third, the language used with the aphasic during therapy will obviously also influence the recovery process.

⁹ *The Linguistics Encyclopedia*.

- It may also be the case that a language in which the bilingual was literate before the injury stands a better chance of being recovered than a language which he/she could only speak.
- In addition, the patient's age and the severity of the injury influence the recovery pattern.

However, as many aphasics who do not regain the ability to use all their languages are still able to comprehend them, and in view of the phenomenon of alternate antagonism, it has been suggested that the languages are not lost at all, but that the retrieval of the stored language is inhibited, i.e. while both languages may be stored identically in one single extended system, the elements of each language form separate subsystems within the extended system. Each of the subsets can be impaired individually, leading to the various types of nonparallel recovery just discussed, or the whole set may be inhibited, in which case parallel recovery will occur.

Societal bilingualism

A bilingual or multilingual society is one in which two or more languages are used by large groups of the population, although not all members of each group need be bilingual. Canada, Belgium, and Finland, for example, are bilingual countries, and India, the Soviet Union, and many African and Asian countries are multilingual. If the languages spoken in a bilingual society have equal status in the official, cultural, and family life of the society, the situation is referred to as *horizontal bilingualism*, whereas *diagonal bilingualism* obtains when only one language has official "standard" status. Some linguists include diglossia as a third type of bilingualism, *vertical bilingualism*, but this involves dialects of the same language, rather than different languages. And, as it has also been pointed out, even countries such as Japan and Germany, which we might think of as monolingual, contain sizable minority groups speaking languages other than the official language; they are classified as monolingual,

nevertheless, because the great majority of the inhabitants have the official language as their mother tongue, and none of the minority languages has official status.

In many African and Asian countries, political boundaries conflict with linguistic boundaries, largely as a result of colonization. After independence, such multilingual countries have typically chosen either one of the native languages or a language from outside the nation, normally that of the colonizers, for use as an official language. Thus Tanzania uses Swahili as the official language, while Ghana uses English and Senegal uses French.

The reason why Tanzania chose Swahili was not, as one might first imagine, that this was the native language of the majority of the population: quite the opposite is the case. Swahili was the mother tongue of only around 10 per cent of the population, but it was the medium of education in primary schools, was linked to the movement for independence, and was already in use as a *lingua franca*—a language known to, and used for communication between groups who do not speak each other's language—in Tanzania, and also in Kenya and Uganda. It was thus a language known by a large proportion of the population—around 90 per cent are bilingual with Swahili as one of their languages—but, since it was the first language of so few, its choice as an official language would not be interpreted as favouritism towards any one group. Tanzania is a diagonally bilingual country.

Canada is probably the best known example of a horizontally bilingual country. Others include Czechoslovakia, Cyprus, Ireland, Israel, and Finland; Belgium is officially trilingual with Flemish, French, and German. Official bilingualism may, as in Canada, operate throughout a country so that any person anywhere in that country can choose to be educated in and use either language for official business; or a country, such as Switzerland, may

be divided into areas in which only one of the languages is used in education and for official purposes.

In Canada, the Official Languages Act, passed in 1968–9, declared French and English official languages, and granted them equal status in all aspects of federal administration. Such a policy need not promote individual bilingualism; indeed, it can actively discourage it, because its aim is to ensure that speakers of either language have access to all official documents in their own language. Thus, in Canada, only 13 per cent of the population use both languages regularly; in Paraguay, by contrast, where Spanish is the official language in so far as it is used for official government business, while the Indian language Guarani is the national language used on public occasions and in the media, about 55 per cent of the population is bilingual.¹⁰

In Canada, although it was intended that wherever at least 10 per cent of the population spoke whichever of the two languages was the minority language for the area, the federal government would fund bilingual education programmes, this part of the Act has not been fully implemented. One of the reasons for this is that while bilingual education may seem advantageous to speakers of the majority language, English (67 per cent), it may appear to threaten the French-speaking minority (26 per cent) with assimilation. To counter this threat, the government of Quebec province, in which French is the majority language, passed the *Chartre de la Langue Française* in 1977, which, contrary to federal policy, made French the only official language in the province. Clearly, the fact that Canada consists of a number of self-governing provinces has hampered the full implementation of federal policy; however, bilingualism appears to be growing among the school-age population in Canada.

¹⁰ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 2001.

What is second language acquisition?

The systematic study of how people acquire a second language (often referred to as an L2) is a fairly recent phenomenon, belonging to the second half of the twentieth century. Its emergence at this time is perhaps no accident. This has been a time of the “global village” and the World Wide Web, when communication between people has expanded well beyond their local speech communities. As never before, people have had to learn a second language, not just as a pleasing pastime, but often as a means of obtaining an education or securing employment. At such a time, there is an obvious need to discover more about how second languages are learned.

At first sight, the meaning of the term “second language acquisition” seems transparent but, in fact, it requires careful explanation. For one thing, in this context “second” can refer to any language that is learned subsequent to the mother tongue. Thus, it can refer to the learning of a third or fourth language. Also, “second” is not intended to contrast with “foreign.” Whether you are learning a language naturally as a result of living in a country where it is spoken, or learning it in a classroom through instruction, it is customary to speak generically of “second” language acquisition.

“L2 acquisition,” then, can be defined as the way in which people learn a language other than their mother tongue, inside or outside of a classroom, and “Second Language Acquisition” (SLA) as the study of this.

SLA: a closer look

Second language acquisition (SLA) is a complex process, involving many interrelated factors. We will examine the main issues that have arisen in the study of this process but first we will take a closer look at what is meant by “second language acquisition” and then go on to discuss briefly the issues that have preoccupied SLA researchers.

In order to study SLA, it is important to establish clearly what is meant by the term. A number of key questions need to be addressed so that we will clearly see what positions researchers have taken up in order to study how a second language (L2) is learnt. The points considered below are all central to an understanding of how researchers have set about examining SLA.

- SLA as a uniform phenomenon
- Second language acquisition vs. first language acquisition
- Second language acquisition vs. foreign language acquisition
- The centrality of syntax and morphology
- Competence vs. performance
- Acquisition vs. learning

SLA as a uniform phenomenon SLA is not a uniform and predictable phenomenon. There is no single way in which learners acquire a knowledge of a second language (L2). SLA is the product of many factors pertaining to the learner on the one hand and the learning situation on the other. It is important, therefore, to start by recognizing the complexity and diversity that results from the interaction of these two sets of factors. Different learners in different situations learn a L2 in different ways. Nevertheless, although the variability and individuality of language learning need to be emphasized, the study of SLA assumes interest only if it is possible to identify aspects that are relatively stable and hence generalizable, if not to all learners, then, at least, to large groups of learners. The term “second language acquisition” is used to refer to these general aspects; we will examine both what seems to be invariable and what is apparently variable about the process of acquisition.

Second language acquisition vs. first language acquisition Second language

acquisition stands in contrast to first language acquisition. It is the study of how learners learn an additional language after they have acquired their mother tongue. The study of language-learner language began with the study of first language (L1) acquisition. SLA research has tended to follow in the footsteps of L1 acquisition research, both in its methodology and in many of the issues that it has treated. It is not surprising that a key issue has been the extent to which SLA and L1 acquisition are similar or different processes.

Second language acquisition vs. foreign language acquisition Second language acquisition is not intended to contrast with foreign language acquisition. SLA is used as a general term that embraces both untutored (or “naturalistic”) acquisition and tutored (or “classroom”) acquisition. It is, however, an open question whether the way in which acquisition proceeds in these different situations is the same or different.

The centrality of syntax and morphology Second language acquisition refers to all the aspects of language that the language learner needs to master. However, the focus has been on how L2 learners acquire grammatical sub-systems, such as negatives or interrogatives, or grammatical morphemes such as the plural {s} or the definite and indefinite articles. Research has tended to ignore other levels of language. A little is known about L2 phonology, but almost nothing about the acquisition of lexis. SLA researchers have only recently turned their attention to how learners acquire the ability to communicate and started to examine how learners use their knowledge to communicate their ideas and intentions (i.e. pragmatic knowledge).

Competence vs. performance A distinction is often made between competence and performance in the study of language. According to Chomsky (1965), *competence* consists of the mental representation of linguistic

rules which constitute the speaker-hearer's internalized grammar. *Performance* consists of the comprehension and production of language. Language acquisition studies—both first and second—are interested in how competence is developed. However, because the rules the learner has internalized are not open to direct inspection, it has been necessary to examine how the learner performs, mainly in production. The utterances that the learner produces are treated as windows through which the internalized rule system can be viewed. In one sense, therefore, SLA research is about performance; it looks at actual utterances. But these are treated as evidence for what is going on inside the learner's head. One of the major problems of SLA research has been precisely to what extent competence can be inferred from performance.

Acquisition vs. learning Second language acquisition is sometimes contrasted with second language learning on the assumption that these are different processes. The term “acquisition” is used to refer to picking up a second language through exposure, whereas the term “learning” is used to refer to the conscious study of a second language. However, I wish to keep an open mind about whether this is a real distinction or not, so I shall use “acquisition” and “learning” interchangeably, irrespective of whether conscious or subconscious processes are involved.

To summarize:

- The term “second language acquisition” refers to the subconscious or conscious processes by which a language other than the mother tongue is learnt in a natural or a tutored setting.
- It covers the development of phonology, lexis, grammar, and pragmatic knowledge, but has been largely confined to morphosyntax.
- The process manifests both variable and invariable features.
- The study of SLA is directed at accounting for the learner's competence, but in order to do so has set out to investigate empirically how a learner performs when he or she uses a second language.

Now, we will turn our attention to a number of *key issues* in the study of SLA:

- The role of the first language
- The “natural” route of development
- Contextual variation in language-learner language
- Individual learner differences
- The role of the input
- Learner processes
- The role of formal instruction

The role of the first language

Beginning in the post-war years and carrying on into the 1960s, there was a strong assumption that most of the difficulties facing the L2 learner were imposed by his/her first language. It was assumed that where there were differences between the L1 and L2, the learner's L1 knowledge would interfere with the L2, and where the L1 and L2 were similar, the L1 would actively aid L2 learning. The process that was held responsible for this was called *language transfer*. In the case of similarities between the L1 and L2 it functioned positively, while in the case of differences it functioned negatively. Teachers were encouraged (e.g. by Brooks 1960 and Lado 1964) to focus their teaching on the areas of difficulty created by negative transfer. They were exhorted to apply massive practice to overcome these difficulties.

In order to identify the areas of difficulty, a procedure called *Contrastive Analysis*¹¹ was developed. This was founded on the belief that it was possible, by establishing the linguistic differences between the learner's L1 and L2, to predict what problems the learner of a

¹¹ “Contrastive Analysis: (CA) the comparison of the linguistic systems of two languages, for example the sound system or the grammatical system. Contrastive analysis was developed and practised in the 1950s and 1960s, as an application of structural linguistics to language teaching, and is based on the following assumptions: (a) the main difficulties in learning a new language are caused by interference from the first language (language transfer); (b) these difficulties can be predicted by contrastive analysis; (c) teaching materials can make use of contrastive analysis to reduce the effects of interference. CA was more successful in phonology than in other areas of language, and declined in the 1970s as interference was replaced by other explanations of learning difficulties (error analysis, interlanguage)” (*Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*).

particular L2 would face. To this end, descriptions of the two languages were obtained and an interlingual comparison carried out. This resulted in a list of features of the L2 which, being different from those of the L1, were presumed to constitute the problem areas and which were given focal attention in the teaching syllabus.

It was not until the late 1960s that the Contrastive Analysis hypothesis was submitted to empirical investigation. Were learners' errors traceable to the effects of the L1? The findings of researchers such as Dulay and Burt raised grave doubts about negative transfer as a major factor in the process of SLA. A large proportion of grammatical errors could not be explained by L1 interference. As a result of such studies, the role of the L1 was played down and Contrastive Analysis became less fashionable.

There were, however, many questions left unanswered by the early empirical studies. In particular no consideration was given to the possibility that the effects of the L1 operated in ways other than through transfer. The theory of transfer was linked to a particular view of language learning as a series of habits which could be developed only through practice and reinforcement. In order to challenge this view of language learning, it was necessary to demonstrate that the "old" habits of the L1 did not get in the way of learning the "new" habits of the L2. Hence the attempt to show that L2 errors were not predominantly the result of interference. However, the L1 may contribute to learning in entirely different ways. For instance, learners may not *transfer* L1 rules into the L2, but may *avoid* using those rules that are absent in their L1 system. Or there may be linguistic constraints on which differences between the L1 and the L2 constitute difficulties so that transfer occurs only under certain linguistic conditions. Or learners may use the L1 as a resource from which they consciously *borrow* in order to improve their performance

(i.e. they "translate"). If a more cognitive perspective on the role of the L1 is adopted, it remains an issue which is very much alive.

We will later examine the Contrastive Analysis hypothesis and its rejection as a result of studies of learner errors, and will look at more recent research in which a positive role for the L1 in SLA is once again advanced.

The "natural" route of development

One of the assumptions of the Contrastive Analysis hypothesis was that learners with different L1s would learn a L2 in different ways, as a result of negative transfer imposing different kinds of difficulty. Challenging the Contrastive Analysis hypothesis led to a consideration of the possibility that L2 learners followed a universal route in acquiring a L2. This possibility was encouraged by research in L1 acquisition which showed that children learning their mother tongue followed a highly predictable route in the acquisition of structures such as negatives and interrogatives and a range of grammatical morphemes. If this was true for L1 acquisition and if, as the studies of L2 learner errors showed, negative transfer was not the major factor in SLA that it was once assumed to be, then it was not unreasonable to hypothesize that SLA followed a "natural" sequence of development. That is, that all learners, irrespective of their L1, learnt the grammar of the L2 in a fixed order.

A key issue, then, was whether there was a "natural" route of development and if so, what it consisted of.

A related issue was whether the route of development in L1 acquisition matched that of SLA. This issue became known as the L2 = L1 hypothesis:

This states that the processes of SLA and L1 acquisition are very similar as a result of the strategies learners employ. The task of "cracking the code," which every language learner faces,

is met through the application of a common set of mechanisms which have their origin in the special characteristics of the human language faculty.

The L2 = L1 hypothesis was investigated in two different ways:

(1) One was through the analysis of learner errors. Samples of language-learner language were collected and then examined in order to discover the different types of error that learners made. The errors were classified according to whether they could be predicted by contrastive analysis or whether they resembled the developmental errors that occurred in L1 acquisition. A large proportion of developmental-type errors was evidence that the processes of L1 acquisition and SLA were similar. Error analysis was also used in another way to examine the L2 = L1 hypothesis. If it was assumed that structures in which errors were very common were learnt later than structures containing few errors, then it was possible to work out an order of development based on error frequencies. For instance, if a larger proportion of errors occurred in the use of plurals than in the use of pronouns, then it could be assumed that plurals were acquired later than pronouns. By equating the order of difficulty with the order of acquisition, a developmental route could be established and the L2 = L1 hypothesis tested.

(2) The second way in which the L2 = L1 hypothesis was examined was in longitudinal studies¹² of L2 learners. A number of

longitudinal studies of L1 acquisition had already taken place, so there was a basis for comparison. The 1970s saw a remarkable growth in the number of longitudinal studies of SLA, many of them originating in the University of California, Los Angeles, under the supervision of Evelyn Hatch.

Both Error Analysis and the longitudinal studies show that there are striking similarities in the ways in which different L2 learners learn a L2.

Strong claims have been made that these amount to a “natural” sequence of development. This route resembles that reported for L1 acquisition but is not identical with it. (We will later examine the “natural” route and the L2 = L1 hypothesis.)

Contextual variation in language-learner language

Language-learner language contains errors. That is, some of the utterances produced by learners are not well formed according to the rules of the adult grammar. Errors are an important source of information about SLA, because they demonstrate conclusively that learners do not simply memorize target language rules and then reproduce them in their own utterances. They indicate:

- that learners construct their own rules on the basis of input data, and,
- that in some instances at least these rules differ from those of the target language.

The existence of errors in language-learner language, however, is only of interest if they can be shown to be *systematic*—that is, that their occurrence is in some way regular. One of the major problems of investigating SLA is that learner errors are not systematic in any simple way. It is rare that a learner produces the same error in all contexts of use. It is much more likely that a learner produces an error in some contexts but not in others. However, accepting that errors are variable does not mean rejecting the notion that they are in some way regular

¹² “Cross-sectional study: a study of a group of different individuals or subjects at a single point in time, in order to measure or study a particular topic or aspect of language (for example use of the tense system of a language). This can be contrasted with a longitudinal study, in which an individual or group is studied over a period of time (for example, to study how the use of the tense system changes and develops with age). This approach has been used to study first language learning” (*Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*).

and therefore rule-based. If it is accepted that learners perform differently in different situations, but that it is possible to predict how they will behave in specific situations, then the systematicity of their behaviour can be captured by means of variable rules. These are “If...then” rules: They state that if x conditions apply, then y language forms will occur.

For instance, we may find that *subject-verb inversion* in *WH questions* occurs in some questions but not in others. The learner’s performance may seem entirely haphazard, but on closer inspection it may be possible to specify when subject-verb inversion occurs and when it does not. A variable rule might be constructed to show that inversion occurs in “what” and “who” questions but not in “where” and “when” questions. Although “If...then” rules are much more complex than simple invariable rules, they are necessary if the true systematicity of language-learner language is to be understood.

There are two types of contextual variation.

- Language-learner language varies according to the *situational context*. That is, learners use their knowledge of the L2 differently in different situations. For example, when learners are under pressure to communicate instantly, they will not have time to maximize their existing knowledge and are likely to produce errors that would not occur in situations when they have the opportunity to monitor their output more carefully.
- Language-learner language also varies according to the *linguistic context*. That is, learners produce errors in one type of sentence but not in another. For example, errors in the third person singular of the English Present Simple Tense may not occur in sentences of a single clause (e.g. “He buys her a bunch of flowers”), but may occur regularly in the second clause of complex sentences (e.g. “He visits her every day and *buy* her a bunch of flowers”). A full account of contextual variability needs to consider both types.

The notion of a “natural” route of development and the notion of contextual variation need to be reconciled. If learners vary in their use of a L2, in what sense is it possible to talk about a general developmental route? How can there be an invariable route if

language-learner language is inherently variable? In many respects this is the single most important issue in SLA research (to be discussed later).

Individual learner differences

Variability in language-learner language is the result not only of contextual factors. It also occurs because of differences in the way learners learn a L2 and the way they use their L2 knowledge. It is probably accurate to say that no two learners learn a L2 in exactly the same way. The learner factors that can influence the course of development are potentially infinite and very difficult to classify in a reliable manner. SLA research has examined five general factors that contribute to individual learner differences in some depth. These are:

Age A question that has aroused considerable interest is whether adults learn a L2 in the same way as children. A common-sense approach to this issue suggests that adult and child SLA are not the same. Adults have a greater memory capacity and are also able to focus more easily on the purely formal features of a language. However, these differences need not lead to differences in the route through which learners pass, which may be the product of a language faculty that does not change with age. The comparison of child and adult SLA needs to be undertaken in two parts:

- First it needs to be shown whether the learning route differs. Is there a “natural” route for adults and a different one for children?
- Second, the rate at which adults and children learn needs to be investigated.

The commonly held view that children are more successful learners than adults may not be substantiated by empirical research:

- It is possible, therefore, that differences exist with regard to, both route and rate of learning.
- It is also possible that differences exist in rate (but not necessarily with children as the most successful learners) but not in route.
- Finally, it is possible that no significant differences exist in either route or rate.

Aptitude Aptitude is to be contrasted with intelligence. *Intelligence* refers to the general ability that governs how well we master a whole range of skills, linguistic and non-linguistic. *Aptitude* refers to the special ability involved in language learning. The effects of aptitude have been measured in terms of proficiency scores achieved by classroom learners. A number of studies have reported that aptitude is a major factor determining the level of success of classroom language learning, but doubts remain about the value of such studies, mainly because it is not entirely clear what cognitive abilities constitute aptitude.

Motivation Learner *motivation* and *needs* have always had a central place in theories of SLA. Learners who are interested in the social and cultural customs of native speakers of the language they are learning are likely to be successful. Similarly when learners have a strong instrumental need to learn a L2 (e.g. in order to study through the medium of the L2), they will probably prosper. Conversely, learners with little interest in the way of life of native speakers of the L2 or with low instrumental motivation can be expected to learn slowly and to stop learning some way short of native speaker competence. A full explanation of the role played by motivation and needs requires an account of how these affect the process of learning. Such an explanation has been provided by Dulay and Burt (1977),¹³ They propose that the learner has a “socio-affective filter” which governs how much of the input gets through to the language processing mechanisms. As a result of conscious or unconscious motives or needs, attitudes or emotional states, the learner is “open” or “closed” to the L2. Thus, once learners have obtained sufficient L2 knowledge to meet their communicative and

emotional needs, they may stop learning. This results in what Selinker has called *fossilization*: No matter how much input and no matter in what form the input is provided, the learner does not learn.

Personality and cognitive style Little is known about how personality and cognitive style influence SLA, although there is a general conviction that both are potentially extremely important. Some of the questions usually posed are:

- What kind of personality is most successful in learning a L2?
- Are extroverts more successful than introverts because they are prepared to take more risks and try to get more exposure to the L2?
- What role does inhibition play in SLA?

Unfortunately, there are few clear answers. Similarly, research has not been able to show that cognitive style (i.e., “the way we learn things in general and the particular attack we make on a problem”)¹⁴ affects learning in any definite way. One of the major problems of investigating both personality and cognitive style is the lack of testing instruments that can reliably measure different types.

The role of the input

It is self-evident that SLA can take place only when the learner has access to L2 input.

- This input may be, in the form of exposure in natural settings or formal instruction.
- It may be spoken or written.

A central issue in SLA is what role the input plays. Early theories of SLA, based on the notion of *habit formation through practice and reinforcement*, emphasized the importance of the input. The whole process of learning could be controlled:

- by presenting the L2 in the right-sized doses, and
- by ensuring that the learner continued to practise until each feature was “overlearned” (i.e. *became automatic*).

¹³ Ellis, R., *Study of Second Language Acquisition*.

¹⁴ *The Linguistics Encyclopaedia*.

Learning a L2 was like any other kind of learning. It consisted of building up chains of stimulus-response links which could be controlled and shaped by reinforcement. In this behaviourist¹⁵ view of learning there was little room for any active processing by the learner. Language learning—first or second—was an external not an internal phenomenon.

In the 1960s this view of learning was challenged, most notably by Chomsky. It was pointed out that in many instances there was no match between the kind of language to be observed in the input and the language that learners produced. This could best be explained by hypothesizing a set of mental processes inside the learner's mind which were responsible for working on the input and converting it into a form that the learner could store and handle in production.

Chomsky's mentalist¹⁶ view of language learning emphasized what he called the learner's "language acquisition device" (LAD)¹⁷

¹⁵ "Behaviourism: a theory of psychology which states that human and animal behaviour can and should be studied in terms of physical processes only. It led to theories of learning which explained how an external event (a stimulus) caused a change in the behaviour of an individual (a response) without using concepts like "mind" or "ideas," or any kind of mental behaviour. Behaviourism was an important influence on psychology, education, and language teaching, especially in the United States, and was used by psychologists like Skinner, Osgood, and Staats to explain first language learning" (*Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*).

¹⁶ "Innateness/nativist theory: a theory held by some philosophers and linguists which says, that human knowledge develops from structures, processes, and "ideas" which are in the mind at birth (i.e. are innate), rather than from the environment, and that these are responsible for the basic structure of language and how it is learned. This hypothesis has been used to explain how children are able to learn language. The innatist hypothesis contrasts with the belief that all human knowledge comes from experience" (*Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*).

and played down the role of the linguistic environment. Input served merely as a trigger to activate the device.

A major issue in SLA, therefore, is whether the input shapes and controls learning or is just a trigger. Currently, there is considerable interest in the input, which is directed both at discovering how native speakers talk to L2 learners and what part is played in SLA by the way they talk. The research is beginning to show that:

- mere exposure to the L2 is not enough;
- learners appear to need L2 data that are specially suited to whatever stage of development they are at.

There is somewhat less agreement, however, about precisely what constitutes an *optimal input*:

- Is it, as teachers assume, an input *selected* and *graded* according to formal and logical criteria, or,
- is it, as Krashen argues, simply a matter of "comprehensible input,"¹⁸ providing learners with language that they can understand?

The role of input in the process of SLA remains one of the most controversial issues in current research. We will later discuss these issues in greater depth and also seek to show that the importance of "Input" (i.e. getting L2 data) vs. "Interaction" (i.e. taking part in communicative activities) in SLA.

¹⁷ "LAD: the capacity to acquire one's first language, when this capacity is pictured as a sort of mechanism or apparatus. In the 1960s and 1970s Chomsky and others claimed that every normal human being was born with an LAD which included basic knowledge about the nature and structure of human language. The LAD was offered as an explanation of why children develop Competence in their first language in a relatively short time, merely by being exposed to it" (*Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*).

¹⁸ Krashen, Stephen D., *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Learning*.

Learner Processes

Learners need to sift the input they receive and relate it to their existing knowledge. How do they do this? There are two possible explanations:

- (1) They may use *general cognitive strategies* which are part of their procedural knowledge and which are used in other forms of learning. These strategies are often referred to as *learner strategies*.
- (2) Alternatively they may possess a *special linguistic faculty* that enables them to operate on the input data in order to discover the L2 rules in maximally efficient ways. This linguistic faculty is referred to as *Universal Grammar*.

Tarone¹⁹ distinguishes three sets of learner strategies:

- (1) There are *learning strategies*. These are the means by which the learner processes the L2 input in order to develop linguistic knowledge. Learning strategies can be *conscious* and *behavioural* (e.g. memorization or repetition with the purpose of remembering), or they can be *subconscious* and *psycholinguistic* (e.g. inferencing or overgeneralization).
- (2) The second type consists of *production strategies*. These involve learners' attempts to use the L2 knowledge they have already acquired efficiently, clearly, and with minimum effort. Examples are the rehearsal of what should be said and discourse planning, working out a way of structuring a series of utterances.
- (3) The third type is *communication strategies*. Like production strategies, these are strategies of use rather than of learning, although they can contribute indirectly to learning by helping the learner to obtain more input. Communication strategies consist of learners' attempts to communicate meanings for which they lack the requisite linguistic knowledge. Learners, particularly in natural settings, constantly need to express ideas which are beyond their linguistic resources. They can either give up and so avoid the problem, or try to find some way around it. Typical communication strategies are *requests for assistance* (e.g. "What d'you call —?") and *paraphrase* (e.g. "wow wow" for "bark"). Communication strategies involve compensating for non-existent knowledge by improvising with existing L2 knowledge in incorrect and inappropriate ways.

The investigation of learner strategies has a central place in SLA. The current reconsideration of the importance of the linguistic environment has not meant a return to behaviourist views.

Rather, it emphasizes the relationship between the input and internal processing in order to discover how each affects the other, i.e.,

- An optimal input is one that learners can handle by means of learning strategies.
- Learners adjust the strategies they use to suit the type of input they are getting.
- Learners can also attempt to control the type of input they are exposed to through the use of production and communication strategies.

Input, learner strategies, and output are all interrelated in a highly complex manner.

Learner strategies cannot be observed directly. They can only be inferred from language-learner behaviour. Inevitably the literature on learner strategies is speculative and rather theoretical. It is a bit like trying to work out the classification system of a library when the only evidence to go on consists of the few books you have been allowed to take out. Early studies of learner strategies were based on Error Analysis.²⁰ The data were isolated learner utterances. Later research recognized the importance of using continuous stretches of discourse in order to identify how the learner negotiates meaning in collaboration with his/her interlocutor. In this way the interrelationship between input, internal processing, and output can be more clearly witnessed.

The alternative view of learner processing is that proposed by Chomsky. It has already been noted that Chomsky's view of language learning is mentalist; that is, he emphasizes the contribution of the learner, rather than that of the environment. Chomsky is also specific

²⁰ "Error analysis: the study and analysis of the errors made by second and foreign language learners. Error analysis may be carried out in order to: (a) find out how well someone knows a language; (b) find out how a person learns a language; (c) obtain information on common difficulties in language learning, as an aid in teaching or in the preparation of teaching materials. Error analysis may be used as well as or instead of contrastive analysis" (Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics).

¹⁹ Ellis, R., *Study of Second Language Acquisition*.

about the nature of the learner's contribution. Although he does not rule out the possibility that the language processing of the young child may ultimately be explained in terms of general cognitive development, he believes that it can be best explained in terms of an independent language faculty. That is, Chomsky claims that language acquisition is primarily the result of mental mechanisms that are specifically linguistic.

What does this linguistic faculty consist of? Chomsky describes it as a "Language Acquisition Device" that contains a knowledge of linguistic universals. These are *innate* and provide the child with a starting point for acquiring the grammar of the language he/she is exposed to. Chomsky believes that natural languages are governed by highly abstract and complex rules that are not immediately evident in actual utterances or, as Chomsky calls it, "Surface Structure." If the child were totally reliant on the data available in the input, he would not be able to acquire these rules. Therefore, the child must possess a set of innate principles which guide language processing. These principles comprise Universal Grammar: the linguistic features and processes which are common to all natural languages and all language learners.

Chomsky's "Language Acquisition Device" operates in L1 acquisition. However, the idea that there is an independent linguistic faculty which determines SLA is tenable. Recently it has been explored as the Universal Hypothesis. This is based on the notion of "core" rules that are to be found in all natural languages. There are also rules that are language-specific; that is, they are found in only one or two languages. The Universal Hypothesis states that L2 learners find it easier to learn "core" rules than language-specific rules. It has also been suggested that the effects of L1 transfer may be restricted to non-core features. That is, if learners discover that a L2

rule is not in agreement with a universal rule, they will seek to interpret that rule in terms of the equivalent rule in their L1. (We will later devote our attention to: learner strategies, Chomsky's LAD, and the Universal Hypothesis in SLA.)

The role of formal instruction

From the teacher's point of view, the role that formal instruction plays in SLA is of central importance. It has been left to the end because it is an issue that is related to many of the issues discussed in the previous sections. It must be considered in two parts:

- the effect that instruction has on the *route* of learning, and
- the effect that it has on *rate* of learning.

There has been little direct study of either of these aspects, largely because of the pedagogic assumption that it is possible to determine both route and rate through teaching.

Earlier it has been pointed out that learners may pass through a relatively invariable route in acquiring linguistic competence in a L2. This may be:

- the result of the operation of *universal learning strategies* which are part of the human faculty for language, or,
- the result of *exposure to particular kinds of input* which models at different stages of development just those features which the learner is ready to acquire.

Thus:

- If SLA is the result of some kind of "Language Acquisition Device," which is triggered off only by the linguistic environment, then the learner must be credited with his/her own "syllabus" which is more or less immune to influence from the outside.
- If, however, SLA is the result of attending to those features that are frequent and salient in the input, then the possibility arises that there is more than one "syllabus" for SLA and that a specially constructed input, such as that provided by formal instruction, can influence the order in which the grammar of a L2 is acquired.

The few studies of the effects of formal instruction on the developmental route suggest that the “natural” route cannot be changed. These are not conclusive, however. Formal instruction can take many different forms and it is possible that the route of development is amenable to influence by certain methods but not by others. The research undertaken so far may not have investigated the right methods in the right conditions. It is also possible that the “natural” route reflects a particular type of language use—free, spontaneous conversation—and will be found whenever this is investigated. Formal instruction may not easily influence this type of language use, but it may aid other types, for example those associated with planned speech or writing. Such a view is in accordance with what is known about contextual variability in SLA. Formal instruction may help learners to perform in some types of situation but not in others.

Irrespective of whether formal instruction affects the order of learning or not:

- it may enhance SLA by accelerating the whole process;
- learners who receive formal instruction may learn more rapidly than those who do not—the experience of countless classroom learners testifies to this;
- even if the L2 knowledge derived from formal instruction is not immediately available for use in spontaneous conversation (a common enough experience), it soon becomes serviceable once the learner has the opportunity to use the L2 in this kind of communication;
- formal instruction can have a powerful delayed effect; and,
- there is also some research that suggests that formal instruction speeds up SLA.

(The role of instruction in SLA will be considered later.)

Conclusion

Having considered the key issues in SLA research, I shall conclude now by outlining a framework for investigating SLA. This serves to draw together the various components considered in the discussion of the key areas.

The framework posits a number of interrelated factors. These are:

- (1) Situational factors
- (2) Input
- (3) Learner differences
- (4) Learner processes
- (5) Linguistic output.

Each of these factors is considered briefly below, together with some ideas on how they interrelate.

(1) Situational factors Situational factors influence both the nature of the linguistic input and the strategies used by the learner. The situation and the input together constitute the linguistic environment in which learning takes place.

Two major types of acquisition can be identified in respect of environmental factors:

- naturalistic SLA,
- and classroom SLA.

A key issue is the extent to which the process of SLA is similar or different in the two environments. Within each general situational type a host of “micro” situations can be identified, according to:

- who the interlocutors are,
- the context of interaction (e.g. a supermarket or a crowded classroom), and,
- the topic of communication.

The linguistic product is likely to vary situationally.

(2) Linguistic input The central issue here is the extent to which the input determines the process of SLA. *Does the input merely activate the learning process or does it structure it?* There is now considerable research to show that native-speakers adapt their speech to suit the level of the L2 learners they are talking to. Another important issue, then, is *what part these adaptations play in facilitating learning.*

(3) Learner differences There is a whole range of learner factors that potentially influence the **way** in which a L2 is acquired. The key ones are: age, aptitude and intelligence, motivation and needs, personality and cognitive

style. Another type of difference lies in the learner's L1. The role that the L1 plays in SLA was a dominant issue in much of the research that took place in the late 1960s and early 1970s. It was motivated by the need to submit the Contrastive Analysis hypothesis to an empirical test.

(4) Learner processes Learner processes may be

- cognitive, or
- linguistic.

Cognitive learner processes can be divided into three categories:

- *learning strategies* are used to internalize new L2 knowledge;
- *production strategies* are the means by which the learner utilizes his/her existing L2 knowledge; and,
- *communication strategies* are employed when there is a hiatus caused by the need to communicate a message for which the learner lacks L2 resources. These strategies are general in nature and mediate between the linguistic input and the language the learner produces.

Linguistic processes involve universal principles of grammar with which the learner is innately endowed. They provide the learner with a starting point. The task is then to scan the input to discover which rules of the target language are universal and which are specific.

(5) The linguistic output Language-learner language is highly variable, but it is also systematic. The learner uses his/her knowledge of the L2 in predictable ways, but not in the same way in every context. The linguistic output is developmental, i.e. it changes as the learner gains more experience of the language. One possibility that has received a lot of attention is that there is a "natural" order of acquisition. That is, that all learners pass along a more or less invariable route. The linguistic output is the main source of information about

how a learner acquires a L2. In particular the errors that learners make give clues concerning the strategies they employ to handle the joint tasks of learning and using a L2.

In order to account for the complexity of SLA, it is necessary to consider all the factors discussed above. For the sake of convenience the issues reflected in the overall framework will be treated separately. They are all interrelated, however.

A theory of SLA is an attempt to show how *input*, *internal processing*, and *linguistic output* are related.

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Ana Julia Brassara

Composition

Fiction

I had to thread my way through the thick vegetation and plod for hours along those endless paths towards the top. I was at about three hundred meters above sea level. I felt like a giant looming over the world below. Everything seemed immense, vulnerable. I looked down into the valley far down. It was a mountainous landscape, a chain of rugged snow-capped mountaintops. Between them, there was a light-blue and green lake, on which a patch of blue sky was reflected. The high land was also reflected on the greenness of the lake, which in turn, matched the green vegetation on the mountainsides.

The sky was awfully blue, with patches of clouds, the imposing skyline dominated by the mountain chain.

A thread of water ran fast, anxious to reach the vastness of the lake. I could almost hear the water gurgling until it finally fell with a splash.

Eagles soared from one peak to another, contouring the tops of the mountains, spreading their wide open wings as if embracing the breathtaking scene.

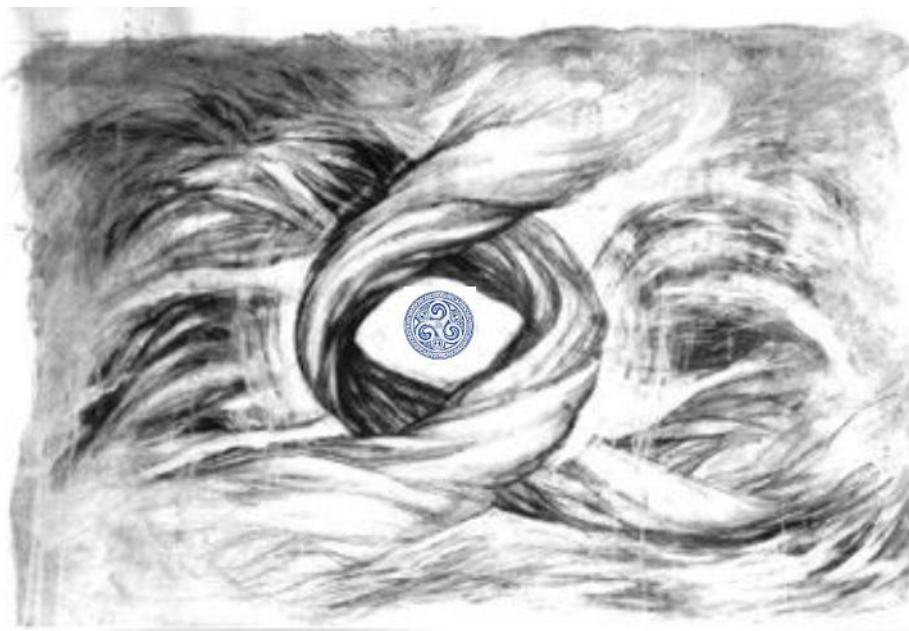
The watercolours, created in me an ambivalent sensation of inner peace mingled with loneliness and emptiness.

I could smell the pleasant aroma of wild roses, the bushes were so thick with flowers that their scent was almost overpowering. I breathed in deeply, inhaling the fragrance of wild herbs and shrubs. The sweet-smelling pine trees filled my mind and body with coolness.

All that could be heard was the whistling sound of the mild, warm wind, which echoed through the valley. If I had flung a stone into the air, I would have heard it plop into the lake.

On the sky, there was a white angel cloud stretching its hand towards a red faced rock willing to escape from the stiffness that had condemned it for life.

I did not realize I had been standing there for quite some time, gazing and admiring the best natural scenery I had ever seen in my life.



The Short Story: A Tool for English Language Teaching

The choice of the shortest route to success in the teaching of English to Spanish speakers is a controversial matter, since new methods and teaching aids are continually being developed, each being replaced by the next, as though all adult or elderly foreign English speakers had acquired their knowledge spontaneously.

I believe that the real issue is the way the teaching is approached. The preconceived idea is that a mastery of grammar, vocabulary, spelling and pronunciation of a second language (English in this case) is enough for a person to be considered bilingual. Yet, why then do we so often come across an utterance—which is grammatically and semantically correct, and yet “not English”?

The answer is: because a language is a system of communication that responds to the needs of people who share not only a territory but also a history, a culture and who have an idiosyncrasy of their own. Therefore, before even attempting to teach a foreign language, one should begin by acquiring and transmitting awareness of the intrinsic differences between the idiosyncrasy of the prospective learner and that of the native speakers of the language he wishes to acquire.

If we apply this to a native Spanish speaker who wishes to learn English, we should begin by trying to identify the differences between the two languages, which will unerringly point to the idiosyncrasies of their native speakers. Long and clumsy sentence constructions are the natural consequence of this lack of awareness.

This leads us to a concept that sums up one of the intrinsic differences between Spanish and

English descendants. The Spaniards and “Latin Americans”¹ are garrulous, outspoken, and extroverted. The Spanish language, therefore, suits their temperament. They need to reaffirm everything they state—they are fond of long words and make a greater use of adjectival and adverbial phrases and clauses.

The English, on the other hand, are naturally shy, self-contained, detached.

As George Mikas wittily points out in *How to Be An Alien*, “On the Continent public orators try to learn to speak fluently and smoothly; in England they take a special course in Oxonian stuttering ... On the Continent learned persons love to show off their knowledge; in England only uneducated people show off their knowledge ...”

Thus, the English developed an onomatopoeic, even musical language with words very rich in connotations in order to suit their reticent nature thus allowing them to be accurate and precise but also capable of painting vivid word pictures in very short phrases. This quality of the English language is what I call “word economy,” its key difference with Spanish.

The point of this introduction is to show the enormous potentiality of the short story as a tool for English Language Teaching, if it is to be aimed at the acquisition of the language in every sense of the word.

The very nature of the short story calls for “word economy” that is, a careful choice of words, which will allow the author to convey full ideas, impressions, feelings, character traits with superb brevity—this not only requires a

¹ Latin American: latinoamericano, hispanoamericano, iberoamericano.

mastery of semantics but also of sentence structure. Furthermore, the short story calls for the student's perspicacity in "reading between the lines," an aspect that turns it invaluable for the development of their comprehension.

If we read Edgar Allan Poe's theory of the short story, we will find it easier to understand this concept. According to Poe, the short story calls for "three points of the greatest importance," namely (a) brevity, (b) concentration of interest, and (c) unity of effect.

As far as brevity is concerned, in a short story not a single word is left at random. "Every word tells, there is not a word that does not tell." This seemingly simple assertion should be the motto of every English teacher and learner, as it is to every short story writer because it represents the very essence of the English language.

Thus, words like *tap-tapping*, *thumping* or *groping*, for instance, could not be easily replaced by a single word in Spanish (nor do I believe a native speaker of Spanish would care to make the attempt, for word economy is not the essence of that language).

The use of prefixes and suffixes is another way of "economizing," especially when it comes to coining words which will give the exact idea

one wishes to transmit. Thus, in *The House At Pooh Corner* by A.A. Milne, Winnie The Pooh is said to "feel eleven o'clockish" whenever he wants an excuse for a little "smackerel of something." This way of expressing such ideas is very English and it would be practically impossible to find an equivalent for this in Spanish.

When Pooh meets Tigger (a new Animal in the Forest) in the dark, not knowing who he is talking to, asks Whatever-it-was to "come here." Here, Milne is showing us how the hyphen can be another useful tool in the coinage of words that can give a complete picture of a situation.

There is far more to be said about the infinite possibilities offered by this superb literary genre as an aid in the teaching of English, it is a question of discovering its potentialities. We may be said to be on the right path if both teachers and learners become *aware* of this fact. The same careful choice of words and sentence structure which is the key to the brevity that allows for concentration of interest and unity of effect in a short story, can be a key step towards the acquisition of the English language as a totality.

Marina Carrillo

Inspired by Dumas

Fiction

Where was I? The last thing I remembered was that I had been reading *Twenty years later* (the second part of *The three musketeers*). But the book was no longer in my hands, neither was I lying on my bed. I felt as if I wasn't even in Argentina, lest in Buenos Aires. My sister's bed, the computer, my desk, weren't there any more. I had seen many movies, but I couldn't imagine how I had been able to travel in time or anything similar, and without a machine! But wait a minute, I had not only moved in time, I was also in another place. But what place was it?

I was standing in the middle of a long, wide road, a *dusty* road. There was a wood on the left, and a village nearby. To my surprise, all its houses were made of wood. Horses were standing in the street. Some men were arriving, also riding horses. There was no sign of any kind of vehicle. What year was I in? What century had I got to?

I heard two shots. My heart went to a halt. I was so scared I couldn't move. There seemed to be lots of people around, but I couldn't see them, they were hiding, who knew what from. Through the fog I could see two figures approaching me.

"Hide, cover yourself." And one of them put one of his arms on my back to protect me.

After some minutes, which seemed years to me, everything calmed down. Around fifty men began to appear from the wood, and one of them, who seemed to be a count, started a conversation with my two saviours. It was confusing for me, I didn't understand anything. Among all the names they pronounced, I heard Athos' and D'Artagnan's.

What? Had I got inside *Twenty Years Later*? How was that possible? Were these people my so much appreciated heroes, the ones I'd always wished to meet? My most important dream was coming true. I had to find an excuse to stay with them, spend more time by their side. I couldn't miss the opportunity. Besides, I knew nobody else in that place, they were my only hope of giving another step in that unknown new world for me. I told Athos I was the daughter of a friend of his, who had recently died, and I was travelling to Paris.

"How come you don't have a carriage or a horse?" I didn't know what to say. I had no idea about those things. I was speechless for some seconds, until I said somebody had stolen them from me, so I was alone and completely lost. He said he was heading for Paris too, so he would accompany me. My mother would have wanted it that way.

I felt awful about lying to my favourite character, but I had no choice if I wanted to get on. Suddenly, I remembered an episode of the third part of *The Three Musketeers*. Three of my favourite characters were going to die. I had to warn them, I had to tell them what was going to happen to them, they couldn't die. What should I do?

We started walking towards the village I had already seen some metres away. We were going to stay in an inn, on the outskirts of town. I was excited. My mind was a mess. That town was amazing, it looked like the place I'd always wanted to live. Inside the inn you could find all kinds of people. It was very difficult to describe. There were lots of tables, and rough men drinking beer and eating, I couldn't guess what.

There were so many details in that place. How was it possible that only one mind, my favourite author's, had created all that? He had imagined the whole place. I had always admired him for

that. It was the same with all his marvellous books—*The Three Musketeers*, *Twenty Years Later*, *The Vicomte de Bragelonne*, *The count of Monte Cristo*, *Georges*, and a lot more. He flew with his imagination and was able to make you do the same with his impressive detailed descriptions.

I came back from my deeply embedded feelings of admiration, somebody was calling my name. It was a voice I had never heard before. I turned round, a huge man was coming towards me. At first I was scared, but when he came closer, I could recognise another of my admired characters. It was Porthos! He looked exactly the way I had always imagined him.

D'Artagnan had already told him about me. But he said he still didn't understand the situation. I would have answered "me neither," but that would have confused him even more. That was my Porthos, so strong, but kind of foolish.

We started talking, and I asked him about his adventures. In a short time I realized they were something he was proud of, and that he exaggerated a bit.

Athos was by my side again. A young man was with him.

"This is my son Raoul. Raoul, this is Marahaina."

We greeted each other, and started talking. I couldn't tell him exactly what had happened to me, he would have thought I was crazy, so I had to lie again, only a bit. I repeated my story: my mother had been a good friend of Athos'. She had recently died, and I was going to Paris to live with my aunt and uncle. I had come across his father, and as he was also heading for the capital of France, I would be travelling with him. Raoul was surprised, but seemed happy.

I wished our talk didn't last long. I knew so little about politics or economy of that time that I kept avoiding that kind of matters, and continued the conversation, with myself as the central subject. That was easier, but at the same time I didn't want to sound arrogant.

My new friend asked me about my clothes. I can't imagine how red my face must have turned, because he immediately apologized and said he actually liked them. I hadn't realized yet, I was wearing a pair of jeans, sneakers, and a pink T-shirt! I was so embarrassed! *Now* I wanted to disappear. I answered I had made them myself. I had been inspired by some Arabian clothes I had seen the year before on my trip to the Middle East. I wished he had never been to that region, I didn't sound very convincing. He said I shouldn't give importance to what other people thought of me. If I liked my clothes, or anything else about myself, it was all right with him. I was so grateful for his words. All the same, I felt thousands of eyes on me, but it was my imagination. In that place everybody cared about their own business.

The conversation took a long time. Then I was shown to a bedroom and my mind had time to whirl about my situation. I had been so amazed and so extremely happy that I hadn't come to think of it: How on earth was I going to go back home? I didn't know how I had got there, lest did I know how to go back. I really enjoyed being in that place. I'd always dreamed of that situation. But, what about my family and friends? Out of that novel, I had a life, in which I sat to read, not the other way around. I couldn't *live* in a novel. Besides, what would my relatives and friends think about me? I had disappeared, I had vanished in thin air. They would believe I had run away or something similar. I really was in trouble.

On the other hand, it wasn't that bad. I would be enjoying my most admired and favourite character, Athos. And I had already met his good looking son. We had immediately taken to each other. Now I came to think of it, I really liked him. He was the kind of guy I'd always wanted: respectful, with good manners, nice way of talking. He was like the typical perfect boy in a movie. As everything seemed a movie to me at that time, I imagined we would end up together.

When I thought of this my stomach felt queer. It always happened to me on those occasions, I got nervous.

Recalling my conversation with Raoul and all I had seen about my new friends that day, I started thinking of something: characters are not only what the author makes of them, but a lot more. When you meet them (something not very common, by the way), you can see they are “people.” They have their own likes, dislikes, ideologies and ideas. They have their own personality. So, I reckoned, I couldn’t tell them they were going to die. They were to find it like everyone else does. It is something you can’t avoid. Besides, if my favourite author had set their deaths one way, I didn’t have the right to interfere in the story of such a great piece of writing. It was kind of a dilemma. They were themselves, but somebody had invented them. I was in two minds as to telling them their future or not. Another thing that was starting to worry me was that I didn’t know what I would do after our arrival in Paris. I didn’t actually have any relatives in France. My lie to my travel companions wouldn’t last long. I had to find a solution.

The following day we started on our way to Paris. Luckily, it was quite far, so Raoul and I had a plenty of time to get to know each other better. I liked him more every day. Even more, I thought I was falling in love with him. I wasn’t really sure. But when the moment came, I was. It was something I’d always dreamed of—the old-fashioned and formal words—“Would you marry me?” What do you think I answered? Don’t think it was easy for me. I didn’t know how on earth I had got there, or if one day, suddenly, I would be back home. But, deep in my heart, I knew he was the love of my life. Maybe that was why I had got into that book, I had to find him. He was my destiny, and, at last, I was sure. I was so happy, even now I can’t clearly describe it. (At this moment I suppose you must have guessed my answer was “yes.”)

Three weeks after the happiest moment in my life had gone by, we were finally arriving in Paris. I had never been there—I mean in my “real” life. It was something to admire. I could have stayed hours looking at those old buildings, those gardens and palaces. It was wonderful. Besides, they weren’t ruins in the seventeenth century, they had been recently built.¹

I was thinking of how marvellous everything was, when my head started aching, and I fainted.

When I came round, the scenery around me had changed completely, it was so impressive. It was very dark, and I could see a lake or a sea nearby, I couldn’t clearly tell. The air was more humid, there were lots of trees around me. I should have been scared or amused for what had happened, but after the episode with *Twenty Years Later*, everything was possible. Light came from the left, I could vaguely see a huge country house. It seemed a party was taking place, music and hubbub came to my ears. I walked towards the house. I was right, nine or ten people were talking, about to have dinner. Looking at their clothes I concluded I was around 1830 or so. But why had I changed in time like that? I believed no villager of that place would have an answer, so, once again, I put the thought aside.

That house, all those people. They reminded me of something. But what? My mind was searching for information. They were high-class people, exotic food was being served. I heard some names—Mrs. Danglars, Morrel. Where had I heard them before? I was confused. Then I realized: I had never heard them, I had *read* them. This was *The Count of Monte Cristo*.

It had happened again! Just when I had come to like my new life. I had found what I’d always wanted: I was in love, and I was loved in return. I had found the only person that would love me

¹ *The Three Musketeers* takes place in the seventeenth century, during Louis XIV’s reign.

just the way I was, and now I'd lost him? No, it couldn't be that way. Everything was going wrong lately. Why had the *change* taken place at that precise moment? I felt my heart sink, it was aching so badly. Would my life continue like that, going from one book to another, without being able to plan anything, to form a family? Every person I met, one day, I wouldn't see him/her anymore. I didn't like books any longer, not this way. I felt so impotent.

On the other hand, I would be able to meet every character I loved. But, still, I was sad. At least, I no longer had the dilemma of my heroes' future.

Suddenly, I heard my name again. How was that possible? I hadn't met anybody in that novel yet. I turned round. A tall, young man was standing there. Yes, I knew him, those eyes, that mouth, it was him!

"Raoul! Thank God you're here too."

"I'm also glad I'm with you. But, how did I get here?"

I smiled... I had no logical answer.



The Old and the New Universidad del Salvador: Its Continuity in the Jesuitic Spirit According to Jorge Mario Bergoglio, SJ. Provincial

Summary of the “History And Change” Charter of Principles
(Buenos Aires, August 27, 1974)

1. The Fight Against Atheism

Putting current main ideologies into practice makes it necessary to set their boundaries towards improvement. While main ideologies were only suggested, it was believed that their immanent dynamics would set their boundaries, but when they have been put into practice, the situation is completely different.

The immanent has not fulfilled its goals, in consequence, a different view that may transcend them is required: a transcendent criterion, a religious attitude to be able to judge History. Without the transcendent the inert forces of technological progress, and not men, are, in fact, the ones that urge History.

At present any critical thought bears that transcendent feature; it is the only one able to critically innovate historical experiences which, due to their imminence, have evolved into something merely quantitative.

In short, the fight against atheism does not differ from transcendent criticism to contemporary world. Through discernment we can incorporate those components of atheism which criticise alienating manifestations and the swindling use of religious issues. Religious renaissance will return to the essential through the critical sieve of modern atheism, taking the best and the most valid of it.

Within this scope, the Universidad del Salvador will start working: it will constitute a university based on Faith, i.e. a critical and innovative one.

2. Progress through the return to our sources

The future is reached when the distance travelled has been thoroughly analysed. It does

not involve any external criticism, it means to assume that a venture has been undertaken. That is the reason why the servile imitation of foreign models is of no use, what is relevant is the critical continuity of national movements, the protagonists of modern Argentina. It is thus necessary to return to the indigenous-Hispanic tradition in Latin America as the foundation of a future in which we can recognise each other. Exactly the same criterion must be applied to the building of the new Universidad del Salvador. Hence, the spirit that must govern it shall be the same as that which the Society of Jesus has reconsidered as its comprehensive apostolic mission.

3. Universalism through differences

Since its creation, the Society of Jesus has understood and respected historical, cultural and psychological differences which bestow their intransferable trait to every people on earth. Encouraged by the evangelical spirit of its founder, the Society of Jesus affirms, from its creation, the universalist content of its action. Truth is elicited from diversity. Christ's truth is just one, but there are multiple historical and human manifestations of it.

Among the Church most important missionary experiences, the ones of the Society of Jesus must be pointed out, for when the missionised peoples got the necessary organisational and social tools, they were able to develop their cultural individuality which, in turn, became universal when they accepted such Faith as their own.

Mons. Bergoglio points out some corollaries of this doctrine

- The reassertion of the concept of “person”—to consider the human being as a person. The effort made whether as directors or professors on behalf of our students must not be oriented to “all of them” in general but to “each of them” in particular by taking them into account as persons who belong to a community.

- Generation reconciliation: the abrupt changes we have to face and the misleading belief that the human being himself is able to develop a new culture just by means of his own decision and rationality, without taking into account any other values, has resulted or may result in a generation crack that interrupts the transmission of values. On the other hand, the family hierarchical structure is disrupted; the family is converted into a mere social agreement or—even worse—into a community of “friends.” Consequently, as parents’ role is not assumed and children’s role fades away, these will not know how to be good parents in the future. Both kinds of generation gaps are based on an underlying aggression to the young, who are also attacked when we treat them as adults, as if it were compulsory for the adult to learn everything from them or else, when we keep on treating them as children without allowing them to grow up. This fundamental aggression derives from the consideration of the young as a political, isolated and manipulatable force instead of a social one. All of this involves egoism.

- The correction of egoism: The modern individual is unable to be alone with himself. It takes him a lifetime to travel along the road that eradicates egoism but it has to be proclaimed as a feasible road, the sole feasible road through the continuous growth of moral conscience, mainly based on the knowledge of himself, of his own inwardness, “insisting”

on it and discovering in it the natural law given by God. For the educator there is only one way to fight against atheism: his personal example.

- The social and national feeling: The supreme good is achieved within the social framework; the ethical reflection of the individual ends up in a political vocation which seeks the general welfare of a particular environment and through it, the universal one. We must always bear in mind that knowledge and training have to be based on ethics and morality to enable the achievement of social/national goals.

These reflections affect our behaviour, administration and management of academic units, teaching and the whole education process. A new sense must be given to our work. This new sense brings about austerity, dedication and sacrifice which, in turn, will make our activity humble and modest.

The University is full of life, life that must be preserved on all levels: director, professors, administrative staff, graduates and students. Wherever there is life, problems arise; but they are “good problems,” those arising out of growth from which bountiful harvests are reaped. We shall sow the seed in our students who constitute the most important and the most “transient” issue. We have very little time for each student, so we have to spend it wisely for his education to go beyond that restricted period of time.

**Summary of the Speech Delivered by Rvd. Jorge M. Bergoglio, SJ,
President of the San Miguel Area, on December 19, 1984**

Since its creation the Universidad del Salvador has borne a distinguishing feature: it has never succumbed to the temptation of “copying” university structures and organisations if not in accordance with our religious and national feelings. It has not evolved, however, into an institution closed in a rhetorical or narcissistic nationalism.

Bearing in mind the principles of the University Charter (1974) we can better understand our mission, mission that has been received from the Church and that now challenges us to turn the University—day by day—into one of the architects of Argentinian identity and culture; into an effective tool for the education and renewing of Argentinian ruling groups; into a research and analysis centre in accordance with the above mentioned principles; into a pattern for Latin America.

The Universidad del Salvador has been privileged with the performance of that mission. For ten years now, the laymen governing it have borne the responsibility of putting their “History and Change” Charter of Principles into practice.

These last ten years enabled the University to make History, they also contributed to its growth. During that period it faced favourable and unfavourable situations, all of them belonging to its history. They constitute something that we now own and that we cannot deny if we are determined to go on. Any growth, any path towards maturity is somewhat traumatic, as it implies to make a step that, as Catholics, we know it must be based on the Cross. And the Cross always involves a trauma. Hence, growing up requires a progressive unification of men around the mission and the guiding principles that summon them, together with the objectives they share. An institution without a doctrine is a body without a soul.

Traducción de alumnos de 3° y 4° año de Lenguas Modernas

Bidialetalismo e estigmatização lingüística

Introdução

O ensino de línguas, e, nesse quadro, o de língua materna, tem merecido amplas e profundas discussões no meio acadêmico e nas instâncias governamentais ligadas à educação. Tais discussões são resultado, em grande parte, das novas perspectivas apontadas pelos estudos na área das Ciências Humanas (especialmente Educação, Filosofia e Lingüística) e pelo fenômeno da globalização, que exige dos indivíduos o domínio cada vez maior do seu próprio código lingüístico e de outros que lhe possibilitem acesso ao maior número de informações e conhecimentos veiculados.

O que se constata, todavia, é que o ensino de línguas ainda permanece preso a concepções tradicionais e vinculadas à noção do “certo” e do “errado”, privilegiando exclusivamente a aquisição do código culto-padrão na sua variedade escrita e desconsiderando a possibilidade da existência de outras formas de manifestação lingüística.

Isso acaba gerando, por parte dos professores e da própria comunidade, as atitudes de preconceito e estigmatização lingüística. Nesse sistema, o discurso de que os alunos “não sabem a sua própria língua” e de que são incapazes de “ler e produzir textos” torna-se presença marcante no meio acadêmico. Atribui-se, muitas vezes, a isso o fato de que os “problemas vêm de casa” e de que os alunos apresentam “muitas lacunas e deficiências” de aprendizagem e de domínio de vocabulário e de estruturas lingüísticas mais complexas..

E, apesar de todas as discussões e do discurso “inovador” dos professores, essa situação permanece inalterada e a sua prática docente continua a ser exercida da mesma forma

tradicional e preconceituosa, sem que se busquem os referenciais teóricos capazes de elucidar e apontar alternativas para o problema.

Nesse sentido, este trabalho pretende apresentar a questão do bidialetalismo e da estigmatização lingüística, enfocadas na relação entre sociedade, linguagem e escola. Para tanto foi tomado como foco de pesquisa a teoria da deficiência cultural e a hipótese da deficiência lingüística, e os estudos de Bernstein, e a teoria das diferenças culturais com a conseqüente hipótese das diferenças lingüísticas, e os estudos de Labov.

Antes de se entrar na abordagem de cada uma das teorias, far-se-á uma breve contextualização dos estudos sociolingüísticos e da relação língua(agem)/sociedade, bem como a exploração de alguns conceitos vinculados à área.

1. Os estudos sociolingüísticos: uma breve contextualização

Conforme Pretti (1982), o caráter social de uma língua já parece ter sido fartamente demonstrado. Entendida como um sistema de *signos* convencionais que faculta aos membros de uma comunidade a possibilidade de comunicação, acredita-se, hoje, que seu papel seja cada vez mais importante nas relações humanas, razão pela qual seu estudo já envolve modernos processos científicos de pesquisa, interligados às mais novas ciências e técnicas.

Ainda segundo o autor, entre sociedade e língua, de fato, não há uma relação de mera casualidade. Desde que nascemos, um mundo de *signos* lingüísticos nos cerca e suas inúmeras possibilidades comunicativas começam a tornar-se reais a partir do momento em que, pela imitação e associação, começamos a formular nossas mensagens. E toda a nossa vida

em sociedade supõe um problema de intercâmbio e comunicação que se realiza fundamentalmente pela língua, o meio mais comum de que dispomos para tal.

Nas grandes civilizações, a língua é o suporte de uma dinâmica social, que compreende não só as relações diárias entre os membros da comunidade, como também uma atividade intelectual, que vai desde o fluxo informativo dos meios de comunicação de massa, até a vida cultural, científica ou literária.

A língua funciona como um elemento de interação entre o indivíduo e a sociedade em que ele atua. É através dela que a realidade se transforma em signos, pela associação de significantes sonoros a significados arbitrários, com os quais se processa a comunicação lingüística.

Entendida como manifestação da vida em sociedade, o estudo da língua pode ligar-se à Sociologia, abrindo-se, a partir daí, campos novos de pesquisa, em especial o da Sociolingüística.

De acordo com Crystal (1988: 243), “a Sociolingüística pode ser considerada como um ramo da Lingüística que estuda todos os aspectos da relação entre língua e sociedade. Os sociolingüistas estudam questões como a identidade lingüística dos grupos sociais, as atitudes sociais em relação à língua, as formas padrão ou não padronizadas da língua, os esquemas e necessidades do uso da língua nacional, as Variantes sociais e os níveis da língua, a base social do multilingüismo, etc. Um nome alternativo para o assunto (que sugere uma preocupação maior com as explicações sociológicas, em detrimento das lingüísticas, para as questões acima) é a Sociologia da Linguagem.

O termo coincide, até certo ponto, com os estudos da Etnolingüística e da Lingüística Antropológica, refletindo interesses comuns de disciplinas afins —a sociologia, a etnologia e a antropologia. O estudos dos dialetos às vezes é

considerado como um campo separado, sob o nome de Dialectologia, em especial quando focaliza os dialetos sociais. A lingüística sociológica é diferenciada ocasionalmente da sociolingüística, principalmente na Europa, onde a expressão reflete uma preocupação em ver a língua como uma parte integrante da teoria sociológica”

Os estudos da Sociolingüística tiveram grande desenvolvimento nas décadas de 50 e 60, nos Estados Unidos, e o interesse despertado pelas pesquisas deve-se, possivelmente, à grande divulgação dos estudos de Comunicação, à necessidade de maior aproximação com outros povos, ou de conhecimento melhor da própria comunidade (num diálogo em que os estudos multidialetais e multilíngües teriam especial significação) e à divulgação, cada vez maior, dos estudos de Sociologia e Lingüística. Alie-se a esta última circunstância o conhecimento mais aprofundado das obras de Sapir, Bloomfield e Boas, considerados precursores das teorias sociológicas da linguagem nos Estados Unidos.

Além disso, naquelas décadas, o estudo da língua dos índios americanos ganhou novos estímulos, em função do crescente processo de aculturação e evangelização dessas sociedades primitivas. Nesse sentido, a pesquisa lingüística de Benjamin L. Whorf desempenhou papel importante. Partindo da estrutura do conteúdo, estudou o processo de análise da realidade na língua hopi, tribo americana, focalizando a expressão do fenômeno tempo e espaço, intimamente relacionado com fatores etnológicos dessa civilização. Era, de certa forma, uma volta às teorias de Humboldt, segundo as quais a língua organizaria a visão do mundo, peculiar a cada povo.

Modernamente, estudiosos como William Bright, Dell Hymes, William Labov, J. Gumperz, Roger Shuy, J. Fishman, B. Bernstein, Paul L. Garvin, J.B. Marcellesi, J. Sumpf, M. A. K. Halliday, John Fischer, C.A.Ferguson, Paul L.Garvin, entre outros,

têm conduzido a Sociolinguística aos mais diversos caminhos, no estudo do que os especialistas americanos costumam chamar de *dialeto social*, ou seja, “habitual subvariedade da fala de uma dada comunidade, restrita por operações de forças sociais a representantes de um grupo étnico, religioso, econômico ou educacional específico”.¹

2. A teoria da deficiência cultural

A ideologia da deficiência, privação ou carência surgiu e desenvolveu-se nos Estados Unidos, durante a década de sessenta; de lá expandiu-se, nessa mesma época e, posteriormente, na década seguinte, para países da Europa e da América Latina, entre estes o Brasil.

Razões sociopolíticas explicam o surgimento da ideologia da deficiência cultural nos Estados Unidos e sua aceitação e adoção em outras sociedades capitalistas.

Por volta do início dos anos sessenta, a luta contra a desigualdade econômica acentuou-se nos Estados Unidos; nessa época, cerca de dois quintos da população norte-americana — 77 milhões de pessoas — viviam em estado de pobreza crônica. Essa população socioeconomicamente desfavorecida era constituída predominantemente pelas minorias étnicas — negros, porto-riquenhos, chicanos —, que sofriam um intenso processo de segregação e de marginalização social e econômica. Discriminadas no mercado de trabalho, e vendo suas crianças e jovens discriminados pelo sistema de ensino, as minorias étnicas começaram a reivindicar a “igualdade de oportunidades”, lema da democracia liberal de que o país tanto se orgulhava. A ameaça desses movimentos reivindicatórios à estabilidade social e à ordem econômica levou o governo a medidas de integração social, na tentativa de controlar as minorias e adaptá-las às exigências

de uma sociedade capitalista. Assim, as medidas não se voltaram para a verdadeira razão da discriminação social e econômica — a desigual distribuição da riqueza numa sociedade dividida em classes.

Na área da educação, buscou-se, inicialmente, analisar “cientificamente” o problema das dificuldades de aprendizagem e do fracasso, na escola, das crianças “pobres”. A Psicologia, principalmente, se encarregou dessa análise, através da caracterização dessas crianças, por meio de aplicação de testes, realização de entrevistas, observação do comportamento no contexto escolar. Como esses estudos partiam sempre de um modelo implícito ideal de comportamento em comparação com o qual a criança pobre era avaliada — o comportamento da classe dominante, social e economicamente privilegiada — os resultados apresentaram a criança como portadora de “carências” e “deficiências”: carências afetivas, deficiências perceptivas e motoras, privação cultural, déficit linguístico. Surgiu, assim, uma verdadeira “teoria da deficiência cultural” e uma “psicologia da pobreza”, que “patologizaram” a pobreza, ou seja, responsabilizaram-na por gerar “doenças”, “defeitos”, “deficiências”.

Países de estrutura capitalista da Europa e da América Latina, em que a estratificação social e econômica levava à marginalização das camadas desfavorecidas, incorporaram facilmente a teoria da deficiência cultural, pela qual as dificuldades de aprendizagem e os altos índices de evasão e de repetência das crianças integrantes dessas camadas são convenientemente explicadas.

No Brasil, a partir de meados da década de setenta, quando a ideologia da deficiência cultural aqui chegou, o fracasso escolar das crianças das camadas populares passou a ser atribuído, tanto no discurso oficial da educação quanto no discurso pedagógico, à “pobreza” do contexto cultural dessas crianças e às “deficiências” que daí resultam; carências afetivas, dificuldades cognitivas, déficit

¹ McDavid Jr., Raven I. In: Pretti, Dino. *Sociolinguística: os níveis de fala*, p. 4.

lingüístico. E essa ideologia continua presente entre nós, não apenas no discurso oficial e pedagógico: está também amplamente difundida na prática das escolas e dos professores, que, em nome dela, oferecem, sem constrangimento, educação em níveis quantitativa e qualitativamente inferiores para as camadas populares, e usam, correntemente, para caracterizar os alunos integrantes dessas camadas, expressões como “carência afetiva”, “falta de desenvolvimento psicomotor”, “incapacidade de discriminação visual e auditiva”, “vocabulário pobre”, “erros de linguagem”, “baixo nível intelectual”, “comportamento social inadequado”.

Entre tantas “deficiências”, avulta o “déficit lingüístico”, apontado como aspecto crucial da deficiência cultural.

2.1. A hipótese do déficit lingüístico

A teoria da deficiência cultural afirma que as crianças das camadas populares chegam à escola com uma linguagem deficiente, que as impede de obter sucesso nas atividades e aprendizagem: seu vocabulário é pobre — não sabem o nome dos objetos comuns; usam frases incompletas, curtas, monossilábicas; sua sintaxe é confusa e inadequada à expressão do pensamento lógico; cometem “erros” de concordância, de regência, de pronúncia; comunicam-se muito através de recursos não verbais que de recursos verbais. Em síntese; são crianças “deficitárias” lingüisticamente.

Pretende-se que esse déficit lingüístico esteja estreitamente relacionado com a capacidade intelectual da criança; o pressuposto é que às habilidades correspondam habilidades lingüísticas. Apesar de as relações entre linguagem e pensamento constituírem, ainda, questão polêmica não resolvida, os partidários do déficit lingüístico buscam em psicólogos (como Vigotsky e Luria) que apontam o desenvolvimento do pensamento e do raciocínio

como decorrente do desenvolvimento da linguagem (ao contrário de outros psicólogos, como Piaget, que defendem que o desenvolvimento da linguagem é que decorre do desenvolvimento cognitivo). A partir desse pressuposto, concluem que as deficiências lingüísticas da criança desfavorecida são também cognitivas, porque a “pobreza” de sua linguagem, inadequada como veículo do pensamento lógico e formal é obstáculo ao seu desenvolvimento cognitivo. Suas dificuldades de aprendizagem devem-se, assim, concomitantemente, a deficiências lingüísticas e a deficiências cognitivas que daquelas decorrem.

Segundo a lógica da teoria da deficiência cultural, o déficit lingüístico é atribuído à “pobreza” do contexto lingüístico em que vive a criança, particularmente no ambiente familiar. Argumenta-se que o desenvolvimento da linguagem da criança depende, fundamentalmente, da quantidade e qualidade das situações de interação verbal entre ela e os adultos, particularmente entre ela e a mãe. Nas camadas populares, alegam os partidários da teoria da deficiência cultural, a interação verbal criança-mãe é empobrecedora: a criança não é incentivada a expressar-se verbalmente; os estímulos verbais são precários e desorganizados; a mãe não conversa com a criança nem lê para ela; o estilo de comunicação não propicia a reflexão e a abstração; a linguagem da mãe (assim como a dos demais adultos com que a criança tem contato em seu contexto) é deficiente, constituindo-se, por isso, em um modelo inadequado. Criou-se, assim, o que alguns autores denominam a “hipótese da mãe inadequada”; a consequência foi o surgimento de programas educacionais para as crianças das camadas populares, que buscam interferir o mais cedo possível nas relações família-criança, a fim de “compensar” as “falhas” de sua socialização no contexto familiar.

Já a criança das classes favorecidas, afirmam os partidários da teoria da deficiência cultural

e do déficit lingüístico, vive num ambiente rico em estimulações verbais: é incentivada a perguntar e a responder, é ouvida com atenção, os adultos lêem para ela e as situações de interação verbal são numerosas e estimuladoras da reflexão, da abstração, do pensamento lógico. Como consequência, a criança desenvolve-se lingüística e cognitivamente, e não enfrenta dificuldades de aprendizagem quando ingressa na escola.

Em síntese: para a teoria da carência cultural, crianças das camadas populares, ao contrário das crianças das classes favorecidas, apresentam um “déficit lingüístico”, resultado da “privação lingüística” de que são vítimas no contexto cultural em que vivem (comunidade social e família); esse “déficit lingüístico”, de que decorre um “déficit cognitivo”, é considerado o principal responsável pelas dificuldades de aprendizagem dessa criança na escola.

2.2. Os estudos de Bernstein

Basil Bernstein, sociólogo inglês, tem sido considerado um dos principais responsáveis pela teoria da deficiência lingüística. Na verdade, os trabalhos que publicou durante a década de sessenta (mais precisamente, de 1958 a 1973) serviram de fundamento aos partidários da hipótese do “déficit lingüístico” e de suporte ao planejamento de programas educacionais destinados a “compensar” a suposta “privação lingüística” das crianças das camadas populares.

Segundo Soares (2000), entretanto, é preciso cautela ao atribuir a Bernstein responsabilidade pela teoria da deficiência lingüística, por pelo menos duas razões.

Em primeiro lugar, o pensamento de Bernstein altera-se profundamente ao longo de sua produção intelectual, particularmente a partir da década de setenta; seus trabalhos dessa década e da década atual evoluíram para concepções bastante diferentes de suas primeiras formulações a respeito das relações entre língua, classe social e educação, de modo

que apenas seus primeiros trabalhos podem ser considerados relacionados com o conceito de “déficit lingüístico”. Esses primeiros trabalhos referem-se à sua produção no período de 1958 —ano em que publicou seu primeiro artigo— a 1973 —ano em que publicou o último trabalho em que suas concepções iniciais sobre as relações entre linguagem, classe social e educação ainda estão, de certa forma, presentes. A partir desse ano, Bernstein tem aprofundado, em nível de complexidade e de abstração, sua teoria, que se reorientou para uma sociologia do conhecimento transmitido através da educação formal, para o estudo das relações entre educação e o modo de produção em sociedades capitalistas e para a análise dos processos de reprodução cultural, através, sobretudo, da educação. Será, pois, injusto afirmar que ele é um partidário da hipótese do “déficit lingüístico”, a não ser que essa afirmação seja “datada”: o Bernstein dos anos sessenta.

A segunda razão pela qual é preciso cautela ao atribuir a Bernstein responsabilidade na formulação da teoria da deficiência lingüística é que até mesmo os seus trabalhos do período acima indicado (1958–1973) têm sido mal interpretados e incorretamente compreendidos; seu pensamento é freqüentemente utilizado de forma tão simplificada que é muitas vezes falseado ou distorcido. O próprio Bernstein protestou várias vezes contra essa distorção e esse falseamento de suas idéias, que ocorrem não só entre os que dele discordam, mas também entre os que com ele concordam; na mesma época em que seus trabalhos eram considerados como uma formulação da teoria da deficiência lingüística, Bernstein negou mais de uma vez que eles o fossem. Essa distorção e falseamento das suas idéias deve-se, em grande parte, ao fato de que, ao longo de suas publicações, os conceitos básicos da sua teoria vão sendo sempre modificados e complementados; trata-se de um pensamento em permanente evolução, de tal maneira que até mesmo cada

republicação de um artigo representa, freqüentemente, uma nova versão da teoria, diferente da anterior. Por essa razão é que, como já foi dito anteriormente, qualquer afirmação a respeito do pensamento de Bernstein será discutível, se não for datada e contextualizada.

A teoria de Bernstein dos anos setenta, responsável por sua inclusão entre os partidários da teoria da deficiência lingüística, afirma a existência de diferentes tipos de linguagem, determinados pela origem social, e propõe uma relação causal entre a classe social a que pertence a criança, sua linguagem e seu rendimento escolar.

Segundo essa teoria, o uso da linguagem é função do sistema de relações sociais: a forma de relação social atua seletivamente sobre *o que, quando e como* é falado, regulando as opções do falante nos níveis léxico, sintático e semântico. A consequência é que diferentes formas de relações sociais geram diferentes “códigos” lingüísticos que, assim, criam para o falante diferentes ordens de relevância e de organização da realidade. Ou seja: é a estrutura social que determina o comportamento lingüístico.

A tese de Bernstein assemelha-se às idéias de Sapir e de Whorf a respeito das relações entre língua e cultura (conhecidas como a “hipótese Sapir-Whorf”). Para Sapir, a língua determina as percepções e o pensamento:

Os seres humanos estão quase inteiramente à mercê da língua particular que é o meio de expressão de sua comunidade: o ‘mundo real’ é, em grande parte, construído pelos hábitos de linguagem do grupo. Vemos, ouvimos e vivemos nossas experiências tal como o fazemos porque os hábitos de linguagem de nossa comunidade predispõem-nos a certas opções de interpretação.²

Whorf, discípulo de Sapir, afirma também que a língua determina a visão de mundo dos que a falam:

O sistema lingüístico básico de cada língua não é meramente um instrumento de reprodução de idéias, mas é, sobretudo, um formador de idéias, o programa e guia para a atividade mental do indivíduo [...] Dissecamos a natureza segundo as diretrizes fixadas por nossas línguas nativas. As categorias e os tipos que isolamos do mundo dos fenômenos não os encontramos ali porque saltam à vista de qualquer observador [...]. Cortamos a natureza em pedaços, organizamo-la em conceitos e lhe atribuímos significação tal como o fazemos primordialmente porque somos parte de um acordo para organizá-la dessa maneira, sendo este um acordo válido para toda nossa comunidade lingüística e que está codificado na estrutura de nossa língua.³

Bernstein vai buscar em Sapir e Whorf fundamentos para sua tese: também nesta a língua é considerada reflexo da cultura e determinante de formas de pensamento. Bernstein argumenta, porém, que não se pode relacionar, como fazem Sapir e Whorf, língua, cultura e pensamento, sem incluir nessas relações a mediação da estrutura social. É essa mediação que ele acrescenta à sua tese, segundo a qual é a estrutura social que gera diferentes códigos lingüísticos; esses códigos transmitem a cultura e, assim determinam comportamentos e modos de ver e de pensar. Ao contrário da hipótese de Sapir-Whorf, que é linear (a língua determina a experiência e o pensamento), a tese de Bernstein é circular: o código lingüístico não apenas *reflete* a estrutura de relações sociais, mas também a *regula*.

Outra diferença importante entre a hipótese Sapir-Whorf e a teoria de Bernstein é que aquela se refere a línguas de diferentes sociedades, diferentes povos, enquanto esta identifica diferenças lingüísticas entre subgrupos de uma mesma sociedade.

Segundo Bernstein, numa sociedade dividida em classes, pode-se identificar a existência de duas variedades lingüísticas, dois “códigos”, determinados pela forma de relação social: o “código elaborado” e o “código restrito”. Esses

² Ullmann, Stephen. In: Soares, Magda. *Linguagem e escola: uma perspectiva social*, pp.23–24.

³ Whorf, Benjamim Lee. In: Soares, Magda. *Linguagem e escola: uma perspectiva social*, p. 241.

diferentes códigos resultariam da diferença entre os processos de socialização que ocorrem nas várias classes sociais.

Com respeito a esses dois tipos de códigos, encontra-se em Bernstein (1971: 76/77):

Two general types of codes can be distinguished: *elaborated* and *restricted*. They can be defined, on a linguistic level, in terms of the probability of predicting for any one speaker with syntactic elements will be used to organize meaning. In the case of an elaborated code, the speaker will select from a relatively extensive range of alternatives and therefore the probability of predicting the pattern of organizing elements is considerably reduced. In the case of a restricted code the number of these alternatives is often severely limited and the probability of predicting the pattern is greatly increased.

On a psychological level the codes may be distinguished by the extent to which each facilitates (elaborated code) or inhibits (restricted code) the orientation to symbolize intent in a verbally explicit form. Behaviour processed by these codes will, it is suggested, develop different modes of self-regulation and so different forms of orientation. The codes themselves are functions of social relationship or, more generally, qualities of social structure.

Em seus trabalhos, ele se refere a apenas duas classes sociais: a classe média e a classe trabalhadora: o processo de socialização das crianças da classe média levaria à aquisição dos dois códigos, o elaborado e o restrito, enquanto o processo de socialização das crianças da classe trabalhadora daria apenas acesso ao código restrito. Nesses processos de socialização, Bernstein enfatiza a influência crucial que tem o tipo de organização familiar a que a criança pertence. Segundo ele, há dois tipos básicos de família: as famílias centradas na *posição* e as famílias centradas na *pessoa*. Nas primeiras, a diferenciação entre os membros baseia-se em definições claras e precisas do *status* de cada um, determinado em função da idade, do sexo, das relações de uns com os outros (pai, mãe, avô, filho, neto, etc.); nesse tipo de família, a comunicação se realiza predominantemente através do código restrito. Nas famílias centradas na *pessoa*, a diferenciação entre os membros baseia-se nas características pessoais de cada um:

os atributos de cada pessoa é que determinam seu *status* no grupo familiar; nessas famílias, a comunicação se realiza predominantemente através do código elaborado. Embora ambos os tipos de família sejam encontrados tanto na classe média quanto na classe trabalhadora, Bernstein afirma que famílias centradas na *posição* é que são típicas das classes trabalhadoras, o que significa que a socialização das crianças dessas classes leva à aquisição do código restrito.

Em seus primeiros trabalhos, Bernstein caracteriza os dois códigos a partir de aspectos léxicos e morfosintáticos: o código elaborado se caracterizaria por uma estrutura gramatical complexa e precisa, pelo uso freqüente de orações subordinadas adverbiais, de preposições, de verbos na voz passiva, de adjetivos e advérbios; ao contrário, o código restrito se caracterizaria por estruturas gramaticais simples, muitas vezes incompletas, uso freqüente de ordens e perguntas, de afirmações categóricas, repetição de pronomes pessoais, de conjunções, uso limitado e rígido de adjetivos e advérbios, pouca freqüência de orações subordinadas adverbiais e de verbos na voz passiva, freqüente substituição de expressão verbal por recursos não-verbais. O código elaborado permitiria ao falante uma seleção de formas de expressão lingüística dentre numerosas alternativas, de modo que seria reduzida a possibilidade de previsão da organização léxica e sintática da fala; no caso do código restrito, essas alternativas seriam muito limitadas, e a possibilidade de prever a organização léxica e sintática da fala seria grande.

Mais tarde, na caracterização dos dois códigos, Bernstein enfatiza menos os aspectos léxicos e morfosintáticos, e volta-se sobretudo para os aspectos semânticos. Estes são considerados determinantes daqueles: a forma de relação social atua seletivamente sobre os significados a serem transmitidos, e estes, por sua vez, determinam escolhas gramaticais e léxicas específicas.

Assim, certas formas de socialização orientariam a criança para um código em que os significados são lingüisticamente explicitados e independentes do contexto e, por isso, acessíveis a qualquer pessoa; são, na terminologia de Bernstein, significados *universalistas*, que determinam as opções gramaticais e léxicas, resultando em um “código elaborado”.

Outras forma de socialização orientariam a criança para um código em que os significados ficam, em grande parte, lingüisticamente implícitos, e são estreitamente vinculados ao contexto, de modo que só podem ser bem compreendidos por aqueles que participam do mesmo contexto —são significados *particularistas*, determinam opções gramaticais e léxicas que resultam em um “código restrito”.

Na classe média e no tipo de família que a caracteriza —a família centrada na *pessoa*— predominam formas de socialização para significados universalistas e que, portanto, levam à aquisição do código elaborado. Ao contrário, na classe trabalhadora e no tipo de família que a caracteriza —a família centrada na *posição*—, predominam formas de socialização que orientam para significados particularistas e que, portanto, levam à aquisição do código restrito.

A esse respeito, Bernstein (1971: 153) aponta que, nas famílias centradas nas pessoas, instaure-se um sistema de comunicação aberta; enquanto naquelas centradas na posição, o sistema de comunicação pode ser considerado fechado. No primeiro tipo (person-oriented families), “The behaviour of the child in his peer group would be subject of discussion with parents rather than to their legislation. Person-oriented families would give rise to a strong or ‘open’ communication system”. No segundo tipo (positional families), “judgements and the decision making process would be a function of the status of the member rather than quality of the person. [...] Positional families [...]

would give rise to a weak or closed communication system”.

Um dos exemplos que Bernstein apresenta para evidenciar esses diferentes processos de socialização é a comparação entre dois possíveis diálogos mãe-filho, em um ônibus sobre a necessidade de se segurar para não cair.

No primeiro, a mãe explicita a regra (*Porque se o ônibus parar de repente, você vai ser jogado no banco da frente*), suas conseqüências; a criança, assim, tem acesso, através da linguagem, às relações existentes entre o fato e os princípios gerais, entre o fato e suas causas e conseqüências. Ou seja, a criança é conduzida à *universalização* do fato.

No segundo diálogo, a mãe é lacônica no uso da linguagem (*Você vai cair; eu mandei você segurar*), considera apenas o fato, sem relacioná-lo com princípios gerais, sem explicitar verbalmente suas causas e conseqüências, que ficam implícitas.

Segundo Bernstein, o primeiro diálogo caracteriza o tipo de interação que habitualmente ocorre entre mãe e filho na classe média: mães da classe média usam mais freqüente e intensamente a linguagem na socialização dos filhos e explicitam, por meio dela, princípios gerais que levam a criança a transcender o contexto, orientando-a, dessa forma, para significações universalistas. Ao contrário, mães da classe trabalhadora usam pouco e laconicamente a linguagem na socialização dos filhos, deixando implícitos os significados que poderiam levá-los a ultrapassar os limites do contexto específico; a criança é, assim, orientada para significações particularistas, estreitamente ligadas ao contexto.

Bernstein cita várias vezes, em seus trabalhos da década de sessenta, a pesquisa feita por um de seus colaboradores, Peter Hawkins, que evidencia as diferenças gramaticais e léxicas entre a linguagem universalista (código elaborado) e a linguagem particularista (código

restrito) de crianças de cinco anos, pertencentes umas à classe média, outras à classe trabalhadora. Foi apresentada a cada criança uma história em quadrinhos muda, composta de quatro cenas: o primeiro quadrinho mostrava meninos jogando futebol; no segundo, via-se a bola atingindo a janela de uma casa; no terceiro, um homem, com gestos ameaçadores; e, finalmente, no quarto quadrinho, via-se uma mulher olhando pela janela, enquanto os meninos fugiam correndo. A criança deveria contar oralmente a história ao pesquisador.

O texto típico construído por crianças de classe média é o seguinte: Três meninos estão jogando bola e um menino chuta a bola e ela travessa a janela a bola quebra o vidro e os meninos olham para ela e sai um homem e grita com eles porque eles quebraram o vidro então eles fogem e depois essa senhora olha pela janela e ela diz aos meninos para irem embora. (Número de substantivos: 13; número de pronomes: 06.)

O texto típico construído por crianças de classe trabalhadora é o seguinte: Eles estão jogando bola e ele chuta ela e ela travessa ela quebra o vidro e eles olham para ela e ele sai e grita com eles porque eles quebrarm ela então eles fogem e depois ela olha para fora e ela diz para eles irem embora. (Número de substantivos: 02; número de pronomes: 15.)

Bernstein analisa as duas histórias da seguinte maneira: “Na primeira história, o leitor não precisa ter as quatro figuras que foram utilizadas como base, enquanto que no caso da Segunda precisa das primeiras figuras para que a história faça sentido. A primeira história independe de seu contexto de origem, enquanto que a segunda é estreitamente ligada ao contexto. Conseqüentemente, as significações da segunda história são implícitas, enquanto que as da primeira são explícitas. [...] Poderíamos dizer que o discurso da primeira criança produziu significações universalistas no sentido de que

as significações estão liberadas do contexto e, por isso, suscetíveis de serem compreendidas por todos, enquanto que o discurso da segunda produziu significações particularistas no sentido de que as significações estão estreitamente ligadas ao contexto, e que só seriam plenamente compreendidas pelos outros se estes tivessem acesso ao contexto que originou o discurso”.⁴

Bernstein adverte que não se pode afirmar que a criança da classe trabalhadora não seria capaz de produzir uma linguagem semelhante à da criança da classe média; a diferença, na verdade, está na maneira como cada uma relacionou linguagem e contexto. A criança da classe média compreendeu que o contexto lhe pedia a explicitação, por meio da linguagem, das significações, enquanto que a criança da classe trabalhadora não interpretou da mesma forma o contexto, julgando possível manter implícitas as significações.

Para Bernstein, pois, o uso dos códigos elaborado ou restrito significa o acesso a formas de pensamento qualitativamente diferentes; significa, sobretudo, a posse, ou não, da capacidade de adequar a linguagem ao contexto. O processo de socialização típico da classe média dá à criança a capacidade de usar os dois códigos, de acordo com a exigência do contexto: ela é capaz de expressar significados universalistas ou particularistas e de usar código elaborado ou restrito; já o processo de socialização típico da classe trabalhadora ou restrito; já o processo de socialização típico da classe trabalhadora orienta a criança para significados particularistas, para o uso do código restrito.

Essas diferenças, segundo Bernstein, são particularmente importantes para área da educação, uma vez que a escola se preocupa com a transmissão de significados universalistas, usa e quer ver usado o código elaborado; pressupõe, portanto, nos alunos, a vivência das

⁴ Brandão, Zaia, (Org.). In: Soares, Magda. *Linguagem e escola: uma perspectiva social*, p. 29.

formas de socialização que conduzem a esse código e às formas de pensamento a que ele dá acesso. Isso é que explica, na perspectiva de Bernstein, o fracasso escolar das crianças da classe trabalhadora: Ele seria *culturalmente* produzido, através da mediação do processo lingüístico que essas crianças teriam vivenciado em sua socialização. Para a criança que dispõe do código elaborado, a experiência escolar representa apenas um *desenvolvimento* simbólico e social; para a criança “limitada” a um código restrito, a experiência escolar significa uma tentativa de *transformação* simbólica e social.

Bernstein afirma, repetidas vezes (sobretudo em seus trabalhos dos primeiros anos da década de setenta), que “um código não é melhor que o outro”, que o código restrito não deve ser considerado “inferior”; na verdade, ele tem uma estética própria: é rico no uso de metáforas, possui simplicidade, vitalidade e ritmo. Para ele, as dificuldades de aprendizagem da criança da classe trabalhadora se devem não à “deficiência” de sua linguagem, mas ao confronto entre códigos no contexto da instituição escolar. Entretanto, sua teoria, tal como formulada nos anos sessenta, representou forte argumento para os partidários da hipótese do “déficit lingüístico”, sobretudo pela conotação pejorativa que tem a denominação “restrito”, em oposição a “elaborado”, e ainda por causa do uso que Bernstein fez de termos como *pobre*, *limitado*, *rígido*, para descrever o código restrito, bem como à sua sugestão de que este código não permitiria o uso de formas de pensamento “universalistas”, mais complexas e abstratas.

3. A teoria das diferenças culturais

Foram sociólogos e, sobretudo, psicólogos que criaram e desenvolveram o conceito de “deficiência lingüística”, alvo de severa crítica por parte dos lingüistas, mais especificamente dos sociolingüistas, para quem o conceito expressa uma impropriedade científica, que

revela a ignorância de especialistas de outras áreas de conhecimento a respeito das ciências da linguagem, particularmente da Sociolingüística. Do ponto de vista sociolingüístico, tanto quanto do ponto de vista antropológico, a premissa de que pode haver línguas ou variedades lingüísticas “superiores” e “inferiores”, “melhores” e “piores” não é aceitável, porque é cientificamente falsa.

Embora a hipótese de Sapir-Whorf não seja totalmente aceita pelos sociolingüistas, estes não negam a influência da língua sobre a visão que do mundo têm os que a falam, como também não negam a influência do meio físico e do contexto cultural sobre a língua. Assim, a língua e o comportamento lingüístico de seus falantes estão estreitamente ligados à cultura em que ocorrem.

A Antropologia já demonstrou que não se pode considerar uma cultura superior ou inferior a outra: cada uma tem a sua integridade própria, o seu próprio sistema de valores e de costumes; não há culturas “simples” ou “complexas”, “pré-lógicas” ou “lógicas”.

O estudo das línguas de diferentes culturas também demonstra que não há línguas mais complexas ou mais simples, mais lógicas ou menos lógicas: todas elas são adequadas às necessidades e características da cultura a que servem e igualmente válidas como instrumentos de comunicação social.

Em decorrência das evidências antropológicas e sociolingüísticas, é hoje aceita facilmente por todos a afirmação de que as línguas são apenas *diferentes* umas das outras, e que a avaliação de “superioridade” ou “inferioridade” de umas em relação a outras é impossível e cientificamente inaceitável. Entretanto, a mesma afirmação, quando feita em relação às *variedades* de uma *mesma língua* —trata-se, basicamente, do mesmo fenômeno— já não é facilmente tão aceita.

Embora um grupo de pessoas que utilizam a mesma língua constitua uma *comunidade lingüística*, isto não significa que essa língua seja

homogênea e uniforme. A diferenciação geográfica e social entre segmentos de uma mesma comunidade lingüística resulta em um correspondente processo de diferenciação lingüística, que pode dar-se nos níveis fonológico, léxico e gramatical. O afastamento no espaço geográfico leva a variedades regionais: *falares* ou *dialetos regionais*. A diferenciação social, em função das características do grupo a que pertence o falante, ou das circunstâncias em que se dá a comunicação, leva a variedades sociais: *dialetos sociais*, ou *socioletos*, que ocorrem em grupos caracterizados pela idade, sexo, raça, classe social, entre outros, e *níveis de fala*, ou *registros*, determinados pelo uso que o falante faz da língua em diferentes circunstâncias ou contextos (registro formal, registro coloquial).

Segundo Crystal (1998), *variante*, um termo usado na Sociolinguística e na Estilística, indica qualquer sistema de expressão linguística cujo uso depende de variáveis de situação. Em alguns casos, esta situação distintiva da linguagem pode ser facilmente constatada, como em muitas variantes regionais e ocupacionais; em outros casos, como nos estudos de classes sociais, fica mais difícil definir as variantes (ex.: sexo, idade, ocupação). Foram propostas diversas classificações de variantes lingüísticas, com termos como *dialeto*, *registro*, *meio* e *campo*. Para alguns sociolinguistas, “variante” tem definição mais restrita: um tipo de linguagem distintiva depende da situação —um tipo de língua especializada dentro de um dialeto (por exemplo, para uso de algumas profissões).

Complementando, e ainda conforme Crystal: a dialetologia pode ser encarada como o estudo sistemático de todas as formas de dialeto, em especial o dialeto regional (por isso pode ser chamada também de geografia lingüística ou geografia dialetal). Os estudos de dialetologia se iniciaram no final do século XIX e tomaram a forma de pesquisa detalhadas com o uso de questionários e de entrevistas gravadas.

Os dialetos que identificam a terra natal de uma pessoa são chamados *dialetos regionais*.

Os dialetos que identificam uma pessoa em termos de uma escala social são chamados *dialetos sociais* ou *dialetos de classe*. Mais recentemente o termo *socioleto* passou a ser usado. Algumas línguas são altamente estratificadas em termos de divisões sociais: de classe, status profissional, idade e sexo, sendo que surgem importantes diferenças no dialeto social. Em inglês, as diferenças não são tão básicas, mas existem usos no vocabulário, na gramática e na pronúncia com bases sociais, como a forma *ain't*, que em certa época identificou tanto a classe operária quanto a classe mais alta (ex. Lorde Peter Wimsey). Em português também existem formas ou pronúncias que permitem identificar diferenças de classes sociais (basicamente diferenças de instrução): a gente vamos, craro no lugar de claro. Tais variantes eram ignoradas na dialetologia regional e hoje em dia são estudadas na Sociolinguística.

Ferreira e Cardoso (1994) apontam que são três os tipos de diferenças internas que se pode constatar em uma língua:

- (a) diatópicas, verificáveis na distribuição geográfica
- (b) diastráticas, de estrato social para estrato social dentro de uma mesma comunidade idiomática
- (c) diafásicas, determinadas por modalidades expressivas ou estilos de fala distintos.
- (d) Essas diferenças caracterizam três tipos de subsistemas ou unidades da língua: (a) sintópica, regional, identificada comumente como dialeto; (b) sinstrática, pertencente a diferentes estratos sociais e (c) sinfásica, relativa aos diversos estilos de língua.

Das distinções entre os diferentes subsistemas da língua se pode depreender, então, que dialeto equivale comumente a falar regional. Nesse sentido, liga-se ao que Ferreira e Cardoso chama de língua histórica. Por exemplo, o falar gaúcho, o nordestino ou o carioca são dialetos ou unidades sinópicas da língua histórica que é o português, nas quais verificam-se ainda unidades sinstráticas e sinfásicas.

Conforme Soares (2000), tal como não se pode falar de “inferioridade” ou “superioridade” entre línguas, mas apenas de *diferenças*, não se pode falar de inferioridade ou superioridade entre *dialetos* geográficos ou sociais ou entre registros. Também aqui, como ocorre em relação às línguas, cada dialeto e cada registro é adequado às necessidades e características do grupo a que pertence o falante, ou à situação em que a fala ocorre: todos eles são, portanto, igualmente válidos como instrumentos de comunicação; também não há nenhuma evidência lingüística que permita afirmar que um dialeto é mais “expressivo”, mais “correto”, mais lógico que qualquer outro: todos eles são sistemas lingüísticos igualmente complexos, lógicos, estruturados.

Entretanto, os preconceitos sociais, que valorizam certas regiões do país em detrimento de outras, determinados contextos em relação a outros, alguns grupos sociais em oposição a outros, levam leigos e até especialistas a atribuir superioridade a certos dialetos regionais, a certos registros e, sobretudo, a certo dialeto social, criando-se assim esteriótipos lingüisticamente inaceitáveis.

Do ponto de vista lingüístico, ou sociolingüístico, o conceito de “deficiência lingüística” é um desses esteriótipos, resultado de um preconceito, próprio de sociedades estratificadas em classes, segundo o qual é “superior”, “melhor” o dialeto das classes socialmente privilegiadas; na verdade essa superioridade não se deve a razões lingüísticas ou a propriedades inerentes a esse dialeto, mas a razões sociais: o prestígio que essas classes têm na estrutura social é estendido a todos os seus comportamentos, sobretudo a seu dialeto. Os demais dialetos — de grupos de baixo prestígio social — são avaliados *em comparação com* o dialeto de prestígio, considerado a *norma-padrão culta*, e julgados, naquilo em que são diferentes dessa norma, “incorretos” e “ilógicos”. Essas atitudes em relação aos dialetos não-padrão são atitudes

sociais, culturalmente aprendidas, pois baseiam-se em valores sociais e culturais, não em conhecimentos lingüísticos. Na verdade, são julgamentos *sobre os falantes*, não sobre a sua fala.

Muitos exemplos comprovam que as avaliações em termos de “certo” e “errado”, “melhor” ou “pior”, em relação a usos da língua, refletem preconceitos que estigmatizam o uso que dela fazem os grupos de baixo prestígio social. O conceito de deficiência lingüística é fruto desse preconceito e, por isso, é uma impropriedade científica.

Pretti (1982), a respeito do *dialeto culto*, aponta que ele é eleito pela própria comunidade como o de maior prestígio, refletindo um índice de cultura a que todos pretendem chegar. De certa forma, aprender a língua significa aprender o dialeto culto. Acrescenta ainda que o dialeto social culto é quase sempre usado pela literatura e por outras espécies de linguagem escrita, exceto os escritos mais de caráter popular e informal, onde predomina, em geral, o dialeto social popular. Como língua-padrão, o dialeto culto serve diretamente às intenções do ensino, no sentido de padronizar a língua, criando condições ideais de comunicação entre as várias condições para a leitura e compreensão de textos que veiculam manifestações literárias ou científicas.

O autor insiste que o uso de uma ou outra variedade importa sempre num problema de maior ou menor prestígio e que existe, em geral, entre os falantes a consciência de que a variedade culta é de fato o dialeto social único e ideal, constituindo-se a variedade popular como uma mera deturpação da primeira, usadas por aqueles que “não sabem a língua”, em decorrência de sua falta de instrução.

Essa posição, contudo, não pode ser aceita pela Sociolingüística, que vê na concorrência de ambos os dialetos sociais um natural processo de variação lingüística, que atende, assim, às mais diversas situações de comunicação na sociedade.

3.1. Os estudos de Labov

William Labov, sociolinguísta americano, através de suas pesquisas, forneceu a mais poderosa e fundamentada contestação à teoria da deficiência lingüística, bem como a mais decisiva comprovação de que diferença não é deficiência.

Na mesma época em que Bernstein publicava seus trabalhos considerados reforçadores da teoria da deficiência lingüística, surgiam os primeiros resultados das pesquisas de Labov sobre as relações entre linguagem e classe social, e sobre as variedades do inglês não-padrão usadas por diferentes grupos étnicos dos Estados Unidos, particularmente por negros e porto-riquenhos da cidade de Nova Iorque. Embora dedicando-se à pesquisa sociolinguística, segundo um modelo quantitativo, e preocupado especificamente com a descrição das variações lingüísticas numa mesma comunidade de fala, Labov insistiu repetidas vezes nas contradições evidentes entre os resultados de suas pesquisas e a teoria da deficiência lingüística; pode-se dizer que ele desmitificou a lógica que atribuía à “privação lingüística” as dificuldades de aprendizagem, na escola, das minorias étnicas socialmente desfavorecidas, dificuldades que, segundo ele, são criadas pela própria escola e pela sociedade em geral, não pelo dialeto não-padrão falado por essas minorias. Essa desmitificação está expressa, de maneira mais clara e direta, no texto “The logic of nonstandard English”, apresentado por Labov em um encontro de Lingüística e Estudos da Linguagem, realizado em Washington, em 1969, no mesmo ano, portanto, em que Bernstein apresentava, numa conferência também nos Estados Unidos, em Nova Iorque, o texto “Uma crítica ao conceito de educação compensatória”.

Labov, embora reconheça a existência do fracasso escolar das crianças dos guetos, rejeita completamente o conceito de “deficiência lingüística”, que considera um “mito” sem

nenhuma base na realidade social. A afirmação de que as crianças dos guetos vivem num contexto de “privação lingüística”, onde recebem pouca estimulação verbal, ouvem uma linguagem mal-estruturada e, por isso, tornam-se lingüisticamente deficientes, é inteiramente falsa; ao contrário, afirma ele, as crianças dos guetos recebem muita estimulação verbal, ouvem uma linguagem mais estruturada que as crianças da classe média, participam de uma cultura intensamente verbal. Essas afirmações são documentadas em pesquisas do próprio Labov e de outros pesquisadores, que mostram, por exemplo, o grande valor atribuído pela cultura negra, nos Estados Unidos, à comunicação oral, muito maior que o valor a ela atribuído pela cultura da classe média, que valoriza, prioritariamente a linguagem escrita. Mostram também a “gramaticalidade” da linguagem das classes trabalhadoras. Labov discorda do ponto de vista de lingüistas (Chomsky, por exemplo) que afirmam ser o “desempenho” lingüístico, em geral, agramatical, isto é, que a maioria das pessoas não emprega, ao falar, sentenças bem-formadas, “gramaticais”; seus estudos levam-no à convicção de que a fala informal é gramatical, muito mais que a fala formal: esta última apresenta um grande número de seqüências agramaticais, muitas irreduzíveis a uma construção gramatical, enquanto que aquela apresenta sentenças ou completas, ou facilmente redutíveis a uma forma gramatical. Além de a proporção de frases gramaticais variar conforme o registro —formal ou informal— e até por causa disso, essa proporção varia também, segundo Labov, conforme a origem social: os falantes das classes trabalhadoras usam muito mais frases bem-formadas que os falantes da classe média. É por isso que ele afirma que as crianças dos guetos ouvem uma linguagem mais estruturada que as da classe média.

A tese de Labov é que as crianças dos guetos dispõem de um vocabulário básico exatamente igual ao de qualquer outra criança, dominam dialetos que são sistemas lingüísticos perfeitamente estruturados, possuem a mesma capacidade para a aprendizagem conceitual e para o pensamento lógico.

Para a contestação da teoria da deficiência lingüística, a que se refere, freqüentemente, como “teoria da privação verbal”, Labov insiste na importância social do papel do lingüista, a quem cabe desmistificá-la, porque só ele pode demonstrar as falácias da teoria, construída por especialistas que não conhecem a natureza da linguagem e não têm uma noção correta das relações entre dialeto-padrão e dialetos não-padrão.

Segundo Labov, uma das mais sérias falácias da teoria da privação verbal é que ela se fundamenta em resultados espúrios, que não passam de um artefato da metodologia de pesquisa utilizada. O dialeto da criança é estudado em experimentos controlados, em que se procura obter amostras de sua linguagem por meio de entrevistas realizadas em situações artificiais, assimétricas. Dados obtidos através de entrevistas nessas situações seriam uma boa medida não da capacidade verbal da criança, mas de sua capacidade de defender-se, em uma situação que ela interpreta como hostil e ameaçadora.

No entanto, a teoria da privação verbal foi construída sobre dados assim obtidos; é que os responsáveis pelas pesquisas que conduziram à teoria foram, sobretudo, psicólogos, que utilizaram uma metodologia talvez adequada a pesquisas psicológicas, mas inteiramente inadequada à pesquisa sociolingüística. O pressuposto nessa metodologia é de que a situação de teste é neutra, do ponto de vista sociocultural; como consequência, atribuem-se as diferenças entre a linguagem de crianças das classes favorecidas e a de crianças das camadas populares a causas externas à situação

em que a linguagem foi observada. As causas estão nessa mesma situação: as diferenças não são de linguagem, mas de comportamento diante da tarefa proposta na situação de teste.

Para avaliar a verdadeira capacidade verbal da criança, é necessário estudá-la no contexto cultural em que essa capacidade se desenvolve, e em situações naturais, distensas. Segundo Labov, a pesquisa de linguagem coloca o pesquisador diante de um “paradoxo”: seu objetivo é descrever a fala das pessoas tal como ocorre quando elas não estão sendo sistematicamente observadas; entretanto, essa descrição só pode ser feita através de uma observação sistemática. Em suas pesquisas, Labov resolve esse paradoxo usando várias técnicas; no caso específico da observação da linguagem da criança e adolescentes dos guetos, o pesquisador, além de ser também negro, e ter a mesma origem social dos pesquisados transforma as entrevistas em conversas informais, realizadas em contextos em que os falantes se sentem à vontade, esquecendo o gravador e interagindo livremente com o adulto.

A situação verbal, afirma Labov, é o mais poderoso determinante do comportamento verbal; em situações naturais e distensas, crianças e adolescentes classificados como lingüisticamente “deficientes”, quando sua linguagem é avaliada em situações de teste, evidenciam uma linguagem complexa, expressiva, logicamente estruturada, embora *diferente* da linguagem de crianças e adolescentes das classes favorecidas.

Na avaliação dessa diferença entre o dialeto das camadas populares e o das classes favorecidas, a posição de Labov chega a ser, em alguns aspectos, exatamente contrária à posição dos partidários da teoria da deficiência lingüística: segundo ele, os falantes pertencentes às camadas populares narram, raciocinam e discutem com muito mais eficiência que os pertencentes às classes favorecidas, que contemporizam, qualificam,

perdem-se num excesso de detalhes irrelevantes. O dialeto das classes favorecidas caracteriza-se pela “verbosidade”, que transmite a impressão de que o falante é competente, mas apenas por condicionamento cultural: pessoas que usam esse dialeto são socialmente privilegiadas, logo, sua linguagem é considerada racional, lógica, inteligente, e a verbosidade é vista como flexibilidade, riqueza vocabular e sintática. Na verdade, diz Labov, trata-se antes de um estilo que de um dialeto, estilo que é, simultaneamente, particular e vago: a exuberância verbal mais dissimula que esclarece o pensamento, que fica escondido atrás das palavras.

Já o dialeto popular é direto, econômico, preciso, sem redundâncias. Sobretudo, ele é um sistema perfeitamente estruturado e coerente, nunca, como supõe a teoria da privação verbal, um acúmulo de “erros” causados pela incapacidade de seus falantes usarem o dialeto-padrão. É, sem dúvida, um outro sistema, estreitamente relacionado com o dialeto-padrão, mas que se distancia deste por numerosas diferenças persistentes e sistemáticas: o dialeto não-padrão difere do dialeto-padrão de *modo regular e de acordo com regras*, e oferece formas equivalentes para a expressão do mesmo conteúdo lógico.

Para Labov, pois, a principal falácia da teoria da privação verbal é que ela atribui o fracasso escolar da criança a uma inexistente “deficiência lingüística”; a explicação para esse fracasso deveria ser buscada na identificação dos obstáculos sociais e culturais à aprendizagem, e na inabilidade da escola em ajustar-se à realidade social. Os programas de educação compensatória afirma ele, são planejados para corrigir a criança, não a escola e falharão enquanto se basearem nessa inversão lógica.

Considerações finais

O tema aqui abordado gera uma série de desdobramentos, que, sem dúvida, poderiam

surtir uma investigação mais aprofundada e detalhada e novos trabalhos que pudessem estabelecer uma relação entre os aspectos teóricos estudados e a realidade do ensino de língua materna nos seus diferentes níveis, associando-se, por exemplo, a concepção que alunos e professores têm a respeito das questões relacionadas ao processo de ensino e aprendizagem da língua, entre outros aspectos.

Parece evidente, no entanto, que seja necessário cada vez mais uma abertura no meio acadêmico, e em especial nos Cursos de Licenciatura em Letras, para a realização de estudos, pesquisas e reflexões que venham a acarretar mudança de atitudes dos professores em relação ao fenômeno lingüístico.

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Ann Patchett

Bel Canto

(fragmento)

Traducción de Mercedes de Vergara

When the lights went off the accompanist kissed her. Maybe he had been turning towards her just before it was completely dark, maybe he was lifting his hands. There must have been some movement, a gesture, because every person in the living room would later remember a kiss. They did not see a kiss, that would have been impossible. The darkness that came on them was startling and complete. Not only was everyone there certain of a kiss, they claimed they could identify the type of kiss: it was strong and passionate, and it took her by surprise. They were all looking right at her when the lights went out. They were still applauding, each on his or her feet, still in the fullest throes of hands slapping together, elbows up. Not one person had come anywhere close to tiring. The Italians and the French were yelling, "Brava! Brava!" and the Japanese turned away from them. Would he have kissed her like that had the room been lit? Was his mind so full of her that in the very instant of darkness he reached for her, did he think so quickly? Or was it that they wanted her too, all of the men and women in the room, and so they imagined it collectively. They were so taken by the beauty of her voice that they wanted to cover her mouth with their mouth, drink in. Maybe music could be transferred, devoured, owned. What would it mean to kiss the lips that had held such a sound?

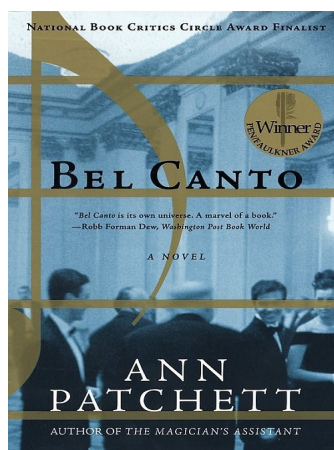
Some of them had loved her for years. They had every recording she had ever made. They kept a notebook and wrote down every place

Cuando las luces se apagaron, el acompañante la besó. Quizás se había vuelto hacia ella justo antes de que estuviera completamente oscuro, quizás estaba levantando las manos. Debe de haber habido algún movimiento, un gesto, porque todos en la sala, más tarde, recordarían un beso. No vieron un beso, eso hubiera sido imposible. La oscuridad que los rodeó era sobrecogedora y absoluta. No sólo estaban todos seguros de que había habido un beso,

también sostenían que podían identificar la clase de beso: intenso y apasionado, y la tomó por sorpresa. Todos estaban mirándola cuando las luces se apagaron. Estaban todavía aplaudiendo, de pie, todavía en pleno proceso de golpear las manos, con los codos levantados. Nadie mostraba el menor signo

de cansancio. Los italianos y los franceses gritaban «¡Brava! ¡Brava!» y los japoneses se alejaban de ellos. ¿La hubiera besado de esa manera si las luces hubieran estado encendidas? ¿Estaba su mente tan imbuida de ella que en el mismísimo instante en que se apagaron las luces, la buscó? ¿Pensó tan rápidamente? ¿O era que todos ellos la deseaban, todos los hombres y mujeres en la sala, y por eso lo imaginaban colectivamente? Estaban tan atraídos por la belleza de su voz que querían cubrirla los labios con sus labios, beber de ellos. Quizás la música se podría transferir, devorar, poseer. ¿Qué se sentiría al besar los labios que habían producido ese sonido?

Algunos la habían amado durante años. Tenían todas sus grabaciones. Tomaban nota de cada



they had seen her, listing the music, the names of the cast, the conductor. There were others there that night who had not heard her name, who would have said, if asked, that opera was a collection of nonsensical cat screechings, that they would much rather pass three hours in a dentist's chair. These were the ones who wept openly now, the ones who had been so mistaken.

No one was frightened of the darkness. They barely noticed. They kept applauding. The people who lived in other countries assumed that things like this must happen here all the time. Lights go on, go off. People from the host country new it to be true. Besides, the timing of the electrical failure seemed dramatic and perfectly correct, as if the lights had said, *You have no need for sight. Listen.* What no one stopped to think about was why the candles on every table went out as well, perhaps at that very moment or the moment before. The room was filled with the pleasant smell of candles just snuffed, a smoke that was sweet and wholly unthreatening. A smell that meant it was late now, time to go to bed.

lugar donde la habían visto, y anotaban la música, el reparto, el director. Había otros esa noche que no habían oído su nombre, que hubieran dicho, si se les preguntaba, que la ópera era una serie de aullidos de gato sin sentido, que preferían pasar tres horas sentados en el sillón del dentista. Ellos eran los que ahora lloraban sin pudor, los que habían estado tan equivocados.

Nadie tenía miedo a la oscuridad. Casi ni lo advirtieron. Continuaban aplaudiendo. Los extranjeros pensaban que aquí cosas como éstas ocurren a menudo. Las luces se encienden, se apagan. La gente del país anfitrión sabía que era cierto. Además, la falla eléctrica pareció dramática y absolutamente oportuna, como si las luces hubieran dicho: *No necesitan ver. Escuchen.* Lo que nadie se detuvo a pensar fue la razón por la que también se apagaron las velas de todas las mesas, quizás en ese mismo instante, o un momento antes. La sala estaba impregnada del agradable olor a velas recién apagadas, un humo algo dulce y completamente inofensivo. Un olor que significaba que ya era tarde, hora de irse a dormir.

The Increasing Use of the “Calque” As a Translation Resource in Technical and Scientific Texts

Over the last decades Latin American countries have been receptors of a great volume of technical and scientific information generated in industrialized countries, particularly in the English-speaking ones.

This has made it necessary to translate most documents at the high speed at which technological innovations are produced, which has serious lexical implications for our language, basically a constant renewal of technical terminology and the incorporation of new words to denote new concepts for which there are no lexical equivalents in our language.

This linguistic process, which occurs in all areas of knowledge, is particularly frequent and intense in the fields of medicine, biotechnology, communications and information technology, which are highly dynamic areas in constant development.

I am going to concentrate on IT since it is a field of knowledge with which most people are somewhat familiar and which is closely related to my professional activities, both as a professor of technical translation and a free-lance translator.

As we can see in most technical translations, over the last decade there has been an increasing trend to translate new technical words by means of calques.

Let's start by revising the definition of calque. According to Valentín García Yebra, “a calque is an imitative construction which reproduces the meaning of a foreign word or expression with words from the target language.”

In the IT field there is an endless array of calques such as *faxear*, *surfear*, *cliquear*, *escanear*, *rebutear*, *resetear*, *formatear*, *linkear*, *replicar*, *correr*, *bajar* and *salvar programas*, *escalabilidad*, *alocación*,

ruteador, *ploteador* and so on.

Why do translators use calques so often? In my opinion, we increasingly resort to calques because, when faced with the need to translate new concepts without having the time to go into deep analysis and reflection, we *intuitively* do what is in the essence of our job: preserve the meaning of the word and find an easily understandable version for the layman in the target language, sometimes, however, at the expense of purity. Later on, the language itself will validate their use or get rid of them, as it often happens with many neologisms, to find a better alternative.

Of course, it may be argued that many of these calques are unnecessary and their translation may be improved, which is also true. But, here there is another aspect which should be taken into consideration. In many cases it is not translators who coin calques. Instead, they are suggested or imposed by the professionals involved, who also have a strong influence in the lexical field of their activities. My view in this regard is that we should try to improve their translation as long as it implies no changes in meaning. For example, *establecer un enlace* is a better translation for “link” than *linkear* or *enviar un fax* is preferable to *faxear*.

But I discourage translators to introduce changes as regards the translation of new words which have already been extensively validated by use, since this may lead to confusion. Let's take the word *plotter*. If, instead of *ploteador*, we translated it as *trazador gráfico*, as some dictionaries suggest, there may be a certain degree of confusion, as not everybody would associate the latter with a *plotter*. So, we would prioritize purity to accuracy, which openly opposes the spirit of a good technical

translation. As GarcíaYebra said “the fact that a word is not found in the dictionaries is not enough not to use it. As a matter of fact, only a handful of technical words appear in common dictionaries.”

Which, then, is the criterion translators should apply? Necessity. Calques should be used as long as they are necessary and there is no better alternative.

There is another case which I would like to discuss because it shows that disregarding a calque may imply a loss of accuracy, too. Let's take the word “chat.” If instead of translating it as *chatear* we translated it as *charlar*, *conversar*, or *establecer una comunicación*, for example, we would leave aside a component of meaning. As it is used at present, *chatear* does not mean just to have an informal conversation, but a virtual and informal real-time conversation. When we think of the word *chatear*, we automatically think of the Internet. So far no other word has been coined to refer to this type of conversation

and, therefore, we would have to resort to paraphrases. But, this is not a recommendable alternative, either. Then, there's the question of register. Finally, once all other possible translation resources have been analyzed and left aside, *chatear* is still the best option.

Summing up, I would like to point out that as a professor, I usually encourage my students not to disdain the value of calques as resources that may be quite enriching both for the target language and its culture. Languages, due to their dynamic nature, need the contribution of other languages and translators should be open to such contributions as an aid to our job.

Here too, I think that striking a balance is quite important. We should try to preserve our language from the constant and increasing “invasion” of foreign languages, but not support purism to the point that it may render the language dormant. As GarcíaYebra said: “I think that languages, like peoples, need to refresh their blood.” So do I.

Alenka Hall

The Train Ride

Fiction

Having been invited for drinks at some friends' house in the outskirts of Buenos Aires, I arrived at the main train station downtown on a mid spring afternoon in late October. There, within that colossal English-style iron framework, alive with busy people rushing home, my great adventure began.

The first challenge consisted not only in finding a ticket machine that worked, but also a queue which would advance in order to purchase the ticket, my pass for a lovely relaxed evening in the open air. But, alas! Just as the excitement in me was shooting up (for I became aware that the train would be leaving in exactly two minutes), I suddenly realised that queuing up behind an innocent-looking old lady had been my worst mistake. When her came turn to drop the coins into the machine, she approached it as if it were her most dreaded enemy and began to touch and poke it everywhere, except, of course, on the buttons she ought to.

After swallowing up an entrée of a few cursory words, I kindly explained the complex protocol in order to obtain the desired object. My train, of course, had already left thirty seconds before.

Having taken disguised care to wait for the next train as far away from my old lady enemy as possible, I now set out to enjoying a brief article on the latest bad news in the local newspaper. That is, until I heard the hoarse tap tapping of the loudspeaker announcing a ten-minute delay in the train schedule, whereby my idealization of my dear old lady was now almost sky high.

Once on the train, I was unable to get the privilege of sitting down, despite my efforts, which, I concluded had failed due to the fact that I lacked the local ability of pushing and shoving any two-legged being who might get in the way. The train left, carrying twice as many passengers as it should have. As the journey proceeded, these once healthy-looking commuters, including myself, gradually began to acquire a rather pale and suffocated appearance, caused by the implicit agreement of never ever opening a window on a train, particularly when temperatures are high and the coach is overcrowded, as it might let in some fresh and revitalizing breezes.

However, the real show began as the train gradually became emptier, allowing enough space for peddlers to make their way along the aisles, which soon became a commercial catwalk for the greatest conceivable variety of cheap-stuff. Years later, having become an experienced commuter able to survive half-hour train journeys, I developed the exquisite ability of distinguishing and associating peddler's faces, products and sales techniques, which are complex enough to compete with those taught at the Harvard Business School, especially the ones consisting on reprimanding passengers and guaranteeing a feeling of remorse, should they fail to drop a coin in the peddler's hand.

The welcome emptiness of the coach can be a source of constant entertainment and social suffering for the person enjoying the relative advantages of being seated or standing. This conclusion is the fruit of what I observed out of the corner of my eye, as an evidently

dirty and smelly vagrant placidly entered the coach and took the only free seat beside a clean and polished middle-aged lady, whose expression became a source of cruel and mute enjoyment to those surrounding her and, obviously, out of reach of the odours emanating from the innocent vagrant.

I sighed in relief as the train approached my destination, and a few fellow passengers began to walk towards the doors, some of them anxiously holding an unlit cigarette between their lips, proving that the evident lack of oxygen during the journey had apparently not been enough to satisfy the desired level of carbon dioxide in their blood.

As the train came to a halt and the doors opened, I caught a brief glimpse of my host, but was immediately pushed back into the coach by the incoming passengers who apparently believed that people stand at the door in order to be pushed back in again, if possible backwards, which can be ever so much more exciting.

My hosts' presumably boring company was never more welcome.



Are English Cats Different From Argentine Cats?

In *Never Stop on the Motorway*, a short story by British author Jeffrey Archer, the protagonist hits a cat when she is driving on the motorway. “A small black creature had shot across her path, and despite her quick reactions, she hadn’t been able to avoid hitting it. Diana swung onto the hard shoulder . . . And then she saw it, lying on the grass verge—a cat that had crossed the road for the tenth time. She stepped out of the car, and walked towards the lifeless body.” The cat had crossed the road *for the tenth time* because, unlike Argentine cats, English cats have *nine lives*, not seven. Thus, for the text to make sense in Spanish, the translation should be *por octava vez* rather than *por décima vez*. A cultural difference we can’t ignore when it comes to translating.

Talking about cats, it should be pointed out that the sight of a black cat affects people in different ways in Argentina and in England. In Argentina, a black cat crossing your path is a bad omen, whereas in England it means you will be lucky. Different countries, different superstitions. That’s why the American film *Friday 13* became *Martes 13* when it was shown in our country. Another cultural difference to be taken into account.

In Tim Parks’ novel *Loving Roger*, one of the characters considers the possibility of committing suicide: “I would go and tell somebody (I didn’t know who, the Samaritans maybe, or Mum’s vicar who said he would never throw the first stone—but it would be the police in the end)—tell them how it had been between us, Roger and I . . .” In England, The Samaritans is an organization which tries to help people in despair, especially those thinking of committing suicide. Therefore, it should be translated as “Centro de Asistencia al Suicida.” The choice of the Spanish word

Samaritanos would be quite inappropriate in this context, for the Argentine reader would only associate it with the biblical story of the Good Samaritan (Luke 10: 30–37), and the idea of suicide, which is very clear in the original, would be overlooked in Spanish.

In England, the word *tea* is sometimes used as a synonym of *supper*, especially by working class people, in which case the translation should be *cena* rather than *té*. By the way, those people who call supper *tea* also call lunch *dinner*.

Melinda is a twenty-year-old university student in Ruth Rendell’s *A Judgement in Stone*. Even though her parents are well-off, she sides with the working class. Geoff, one of the villagers, praises the hat she is wearing. Trying to minimize its value, Melinda replies: “I got it in the Oxfam shop.” Oxfam is the abbreviation of Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, an organization founded in Oxford in 1942 which provides practical relief in developing countries. *La tienda de Oxfam* would mean next to nothing to the Spanish-speaking reader. Perhaps, in Spanish Melinda should say something like *Lo compré en una feria americana* or *Es de segunda mano*.

In *The Human Factor*, a novel by Graham Greene, we read: “and again he regretted his reply. It was always safer to be inconspicuous. There were times, which grew more frequent every year, when he daydreamed of complete conformity, as a different character might have dreamt of making a dramatic century at Lord’s.” According to the *Longman Dictionary of English Language and Culture*, “a century” means “100 runs made by one cricket player in one innings” (innings: the period of time during which a cricket team or player bats). Lord’s is the most important cricket ground in Britain. In the case

of Greene's novel, context does not enable the Spanish-speaking reader to infer that the topic is cricket. Therefore, some words should be added for the meaning to be conveyed in Spanish, as in Argentina, owing to cultural distance, few people know that Lord's is a cricket ground: *hacer una jugada de cricket memorable en Lord's*.

Literary references can also be a drawback for translators. In *Look Back in Anger*, the famous play by John Osborne which marks the beginning of the "angry generation," we find reference to one of the main characters in Bernard Shaw's play *Candida*:

CLIFF: I get mixed up with all your women. Was she the one all those years older than you?

JIMMY: Ten years.

CLIFF: Proper little Marchbanks, you are!

In *Candida*, Marchbanks is an eighteen-year-old poet who falls in love with Candida, a married woman older than him. *Un perfecto Marchbanks* is likely to mean nothing to the average Argentine reader. In this context, something like *un adolescente precoz* would be more suitable.

These are just a few examples that go to prove that cultural references and cultural distance are not a minor issue in the translation process. A conscientious translator should be fully aware of them to avoid making gross mistakes, and to prevent his rendering of the original into the target language from being unintelligible. This implies the fact that a good translator should have a solid cultural background that enables him or her to avoid falling into the traps laid by cultural references in the source text. Thank God, countries are different. Otherwise it would be excruciatingly boring. It takes all kinds to make a world, but sometimes that "cultural variety" makes a translator's life difficult.

Language Processing: Is Language an Organ?

Introduction

After having gone through the dialogue cited below, we can undoubtedly affirm that such an interaction can only and exclusively be associated with *human beings*:

CHILD: Want other one spoon, Daddy.
 FATHER: You mean, you want the other spoon.
 CHILD: Yes, I want other one spoon, please Daddy.
 FATHER: Can you say "the other spoon"?
 CHILD: Other...one...spoon.
 FATHER: Say "other."
 CHILD: Other.
 FATHER: "Spoon."
 CHILD: Spoon.
 FATHER: "Other spoon."
 CHILD: Other...spoon. Now give me other one spoon?¹

All creatures—apes, dolphins, ants, zebras, bulls, etc—are capable of communicating with other members of their species, or they can at any rate make one another active, or feel interested in or excited about something by means of cries.

Some birds utter warning calls when in the presence of danger; some others have mating calls; apes utter different cries by means of which anger, fear, pleasure can be expressed. But all these communication systems, though rather staggering, differ in many important ways from human language. Animals' systems lack structure since they are not articulate—they do not show, for example, the sort of structure revealed by the contrast between vowels and consonants, or the sort of structure that allows us to divide our human utterances into words; instead, a bird has just a single indivisible alarm cry meaning "Danger!" So then, the number of signals an

animal can produce is limited, whereas the number of possible, potential human utterances is infinite.

It has also been said that the behaviour of primates, which seem to be our closest "relatives" in nature, involves certain language capabilities, though they only *look* like language. It would be inappropriate to describe animal communicative behaviour applying terms used for describing human linguistic activity, since great care should be taken if talking about an animal's "intentions" or about something supposed to be going on in its "mind," or about its "intelligence." On the contrary, it is possible to talk about fixed instinctual patterns of behaviour in some animals since they are obviously demonstrable, meanwhile linguistic and cognitive resources constantly let human beings go beyond the limits of instinct. Human beings are the product of culture and nature, and their "intelligent" behaviour as well as their linguistic resources—i.e. language—allow them modify and even change their lot, their circumstances.

On acquisition: some considerations

By the time when the child is around five, he has already become the successful user of a rather advanced and complicated *linguistic system*, a user who operates a system of communication that no other living animal—or even computer—can come near to match. At that moment children are able to conjoin sentences, ask questions, select appropriate pronouns, negate sentences and use the semantic, syntactic, phonological and morphological rules of the grammar. However,

¹ Braine, Martin. "The acquisition of language in infant and child."

they have not been taught these rules since their parents are no more aware of them than are the children. A person may remember his early years, but he will never remember anyone telling him how to construe a sentence. Regarding this fact St. Augustine's words—in his *Confessions*, written about 400 AD—illustrate quite clearly how he learned to speak: “for I was no longer a speechless infant; but a speaking boy. This I remember; and have since observed how I learned to speak. It was not that my elders taught me words ... in any set method; but I ... did myself ... practise the sounds in my memory... And thus by constantly hearing words, as they occurred in various sentences ... I thereby gave utterance to my will.”

What's more, the speed of acquisition, the lack of overt instruction and the fact that all children achieve it regardless of whether they share different cultural and social factors or not, have led linguists to think that there is some “innate” predisposition in humans to acquire, to develop language—i.e. that humans are endowed with the “language-faculty.”

The normal child is physically well equipped to send and receive sound signals in a language. Unexceptionally, all children go over the “cooing” and “babbling” stages during their first few months of life, and only congenitally deaf children stop after it. This means that for a child to speak a language, he must be able to hear it as well. But only hearing language sounds is not enough by itself. Interaction with other speakers of the language, especially adults, is required to bring the “language faculty” into operation.

This *linguistic capacity* is what definitely characterises mankind and humans are the only ones that seem to have this capacity, to such an extent that it may certainly be defined as species-specific. All languages are similar in certain points, all of them are “acquired” in very much the same way and with more or less the same range of easiness or difficulty, and they

are used in much the same way for much the same purposes. In this respect, language is not inherently the same as any other kind of communication system that has been found in other species. However the *universality of the linguistic phenomenon* does not necessarily mean that all aspects of language are universally affected since some of them are not intrinsically related to internal principles of organization obtained in the core of a highly complex linguistic system. If we take into account, for example, the aspect of movement and gesture, it is easy to conclude that facial expressions, stances, movements, gestures are not universal since none of them has the same communicative significance all over the world. They are *learned behaviours* which vary in their communicative weight—meanings—according to the socio-cultural groups in which they get manifested. Nevertheless, there is an underlying inherent superordinate *linguistic system* that involves and defines the unique linguistic capacity from which *language* is developed.

Human language consists of a number of linked systems in which structure can be seen at all levels. First of all, every language selects a small number of vocal sounds out of all those human beings are capable of producing. This selection differs from language to language and the selected items are then used as the building bricks of the linguistic continuum. System is also found at the level of morphology, taking into account that words are constructed from smaller parts in different ways. System is also present at the level of semantics where meaning plays the central role. And it can also be said that system is shown at the level of syntax regarding the rules involved in combining words into utterances. It is clear then that what most certainly distinguishes human beings from all other creatures on the Earth is language. And language is what makes human beings what they are—human.

Moreover, language is unique—it constitutes

a truly unique phenomenon. This human *faculty of language* is, on the one hand, normally taken for granted—to such an extent that it is impossible to imagine our world without language, and on the other hand, it is the faculty that helps us to achieve cognition, communication, and to cooperate communicatively with the other members of the social group, and most relevant of all, it enables us to identify as individuals and social beings when acquired during our childhood.

Children seem to act as if they were very efficient linguists equipped with a perfect theory of language and they use this theory to construct the grammar of the language they hear. In this respect, it is worth taking into account that they are supposed to acquire two different kinds of competence: (1) linguistic competence that has to do with the complex rules of the grammar of their language, and which involves the accurate use of words and structures; and (2) communicative competence that has to do with the complex rules of the appropriate social use of language. It involves the process of cultural transmission by means of which the child acquires the particular social rules of his native language within the limits of his natural environment.

There is a period during which language can be learnt easily, swiftly and without teaching. This is the period when the brain is most ready to receive and learn a particular language—and even more than one language. This period is known as the “critical period or age”; it starts in childhood and it ends in puberty. It seems that this “critical age” for first language acquisition coincides with the period when lateralization or one-sidedness—the apparent specialization of the left hemisphere for language—is taking place and ends when it is complete. Language learning and lateralization may go hand in hand, but it is not known whether language is a prerequisite for the development of lateralization or whether

lateralization precedes language acquisition.

It is not that children wake up one morning with a grammar fully formed in their heads, instead they are born with an innate capacity to speak. This capacity involves a series of principles called linguistic universals. These principles imply the concept that every language without exception, is based on the same universal principles of semantics, syntax and phonology.

According to John Lyons, these principles are universal in the sense “that they are necessarily present in all languages, but in the somewhat different, and perhaps less usual sense of the term ‘universal’, that they can be defined independently of their occurrence in any particular language and can be identified, when they do occur in particular languages, on the basis of their definition within the general theory.”² For example, at the level of semantics and syntax, the syntactic categories of Noun, Verb or Present Tense; and components or features of the meaning of words such as “male,” “animate,” “physical object”; and at the level of phonology, the set of distinctive features (for example, voicing) of phonology constitute instances of linguistic universals. This common set of principles form a universal grammar or UG. According to Chomsky, universal grammar is the endowment, genetically transmitted, that makes it possible for every human being to speak and learn human languages. And this innate predisposition is just one of the components of the total system of intellectual structures. In this connection the role played by the brain becomes more and more relevant. As it is well-known, the two hemispheres of the brain, which are functionally asymmetrical after childhood are absolutely involved in language processing—the left hemisphere being dominant in: (a) the processing of language-signals, (b) the processing of speech-sounds.

² Lyons, John. *Chomsky*, p. 128.

Language Acquisition Device

The linguistic universals form part of what Chomsky calls LAD (Language Acquisition Device),³ i.e. a genetic mechanism for the acquisition of language. It is an innate faculty by means of which children can make complex guesses about what they hear around them with the help of an in-built evaluation measure which enables them to “select” or to “pick out” the best grammar in accordance with the evidence they receive from the environment.

Thus, the Chomskyan posture places against behaviourism and in favour of a mentalistic description of language—and consequently of language acquisition—providing evidence for the rationalist approach. On the one hand, behaviourists maintain that everything—including language use and all that which may be referred to as mental activity—can be explained in terms of habits (i.e. patterns of stimulus and response) which have been built up through conditioning. On the other hand, rationalists favour the view that true knowledge is obtained through the exercise of pure reason without reliance on the senses. So, in accordance with this latter trend, human beings should have “something” available for them to reason from, i.e. some starting point other than sense experience: *innate ideas* which constitute a form of knowledge. Chomsky’s theory places under rationalist linguistics since he puts the emphasis on *innateness*. Besides, his theory could certainly be referred to as mentalist since Chomsky claims that the structure of language in some way mirrors the structure of the human mind, and that there is a close relation between language and mind.

Chomsky firmly believes that language, together with most other human abilities, depends on *genetically programmed* mental

structures. There is a preprogrammed pattern of growth of which language learning during childhood constitutes one of its parts. Human beings are endowed with, for example, a heart and lungs which continue to develop after birth. In the same way, they are endowed with a highly complex language “organ.” Accordingly, language development ought to be called *language growth* rather, since the language “organ” grows in the same way as any other body organ does. Chomsky says that the language organ interacts with early experience and comes to full development—i.e. matures—into the grammar of the language that the child speaks. Therefore, if a child provided with this fixed endowment is reared—rather, grows—in Chicago, knowledge of the Chicago dialect of English will be encoded by his brain. And, had the “brain” grown up in Lyons, it would have encoded the Lyons dialect of French. The brain’s different linguistic experience plays an outstanding role in the development of language since it shapes the structure of the language organ.

To illustrate the growth of the language “organ,” Chomsky draws a parallel between language growth and the growth that occurs in human beings after birth, say the onset of puberty. It is absurd to think that children are “trained to undergo puberty because they see other people.” Instead, and more reasonably, it is assumed that puberty is genetically transmitted. Undoubtedly, it is also assumed that the onset of puberty may “vary over quite a range depending on childhood diet and on all kinds of other environmental influences.” Nevertheless everybody understands and takes it for granted that the basic and underlying factors involved in the processes that control puberty are unequivocally genetically programmed. Human beings pass through a series of genetically programmed changes from birth to death, language growth being simply one of these predetermined changes.

³ Chomsky, Noam. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*.

Thus, human beings are furnished with an “innate predisposition” (*Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*, p. 24), or “innate schema” (ibid, p. 27), or “language forming capacity” or “language acquisition device” (ibid, p. 32). The Language Acquisition Device is “only one of the components of the total system of intellectual structures” (ibid, p. 56). It becomes functional—i.e. capable of serving its purpose, capable of operating or functioning—only during a certain period that is known as “critical age.” This is the period during which language can be learned easily, swiftly and without teaching. Eric H. Lenneberg⁴ claims that the “critical age” period for first language acquisition coincides with the period when “lateralization” (the asymmetrical development of the two hemispheres of the brain, some parts of the dominant hemisphere resulting specialized or dominant in particular functions, under normal environmental and developmental conditions in early childhood) is taking place and ends when it is complete: at puberty.

Two main factors may be mentioned in connection with the Language Acquisition Device, which paves the way for the universal and seemingly rapid language “acquisition”: (1) the brain maturation and cognitive development; (2) the favourable environment in which language is “acquired.”

The child is *exposed* to the language of the community in which he is inserted. Being exposed to the “primary linguistic data” constitutes one of the essential and central steps in the development of language. Nevertheless, it should be remarked that the rich and “exotic” grammatical knowledge that everybody seems to possess by the time everybody reaches the age of five or six is *built in*. Chomsky states that everybody can learn English, Spanish, Chinese

or any other language with all its richness since absolutely all human beings are designed to learn languages based upon a common set of principles that constitute the *universal grammar*.

Universal grammar is the sum total of all the immutable principles which comprise grammar, speech sounds and meaning, and which have been built into the language organ by heredity. In other words, and quoting Chomsky, it can be said that *universal grammar* is “the inherited genetic endowment that makes it possible for us to speak and learn human languages” equally well.

Anyhow, it is extremely surprising that though the evidence available is so meager, the child comes to have, little by little, a linguistic system incredibly intricate, complex and abstract, which presupposes other systems of belief and understanding. Chomsky calls this central issue “Plato’s problem.” Despite the fact that our knowledge of language is so complex and abstract, we receive a experience of language certainly limited. It is believed that “our minds could not create such complex knowledge on the basis of such sparse information.”⁵ And according to Cook (ibid, p. 55): “It must therefore come from somewhere other than the evidence we encounter; Plato’s solution is from *memories of prior existence*, Chomsky’s from *innate properties of the mind*.” This “poverty of the stimulus” argument has a clear and simple form: on the one hand there is the complexity of language knowledge, on the other the impoverished data available to the learner; “if the child’s mind could not create language knowledge from the data in the surrounding environment, given plausible conditions on the type of language evidence available, the source must be within the mind itself” (ibid, p. 55).

Equally remarkable is the fact that native children “acquire” language so uniformly, easily and quickly. It is due to this fact that many

⁴ Lenneberg, E.H. *Biological Foundations of Language*.

⁵ Cook, V. J. *Chomsky’s Universal Grammar. An Introduction*.

linguists consider that language development involves some kind of “natural” development in the same way as physical growth does, that human beings are endowed with a specific capacity for language, and that language is innate in some sense. In this case, what must be innate could be just a specific ability to acquire language, or a quite more general ability or capacity to respond to the environment and then “to learn in carefully regulated ways through “conditioning” or through a general “cognitive” ability that also develops through experience.”⁶

The acquisition programme

Since language makes use of a doubly articulated system, that is to say of two different systems (one of sounds and one of meanings), its mastery presupposes the “acquisition” and “development” of both equally well. Several different stages that seem to respond to universal principles may be distinguished in this connection.

The first period to be described is known as the *period of prelinguistic development* that takes place during the first year of the infant’s life, during which he does not normally produce words. To start with a newborn baby is able to produce only crying sounds, besides possible sneezes, coughs, etc.

Then, when the infant is about two months, he begins *cooing*, that is he produces sounds or “noises” composed of velar consonants such as *g* and *k* and high vowels such as *i* and *u*.

When he is about three months he will be adding *babbling sounds*, which implies a kind of vocal play that involves different vowels and consonants such as fricatives and nasals and that is characterised by the production of repeated syllables such as *bababa*, *mamama*, *dadada*, etc.

More often than not the child seems to be experimenting with his vocal tract when producing sounds which are not present in his surrounding linguistic environment, but then little by little, his babbling grows to be increasingly attuned to it.

From around nine to twelve months—i.e. in the later babbling stage—some intonation patterns and some imitation of others’ speech are recognisable in his oral production to such an extent that it is frequently labelled as the *sound play period*. The child is now capable of using his vocalizations to express emotions and emphasis. It is at this exact moment that, normally, parents and caregivers react to him as if he were really speaking, though many of them (parents and caregivers) treat the baby as if he were talking much earlier. Some psychologists think this *prelinguistic stage* “gives children some experience of the social role of speech because parents tend to react to the babbling, however incoherent, as if it is, in fact, their child’s contribution to social interaction.”⁷

A linguistic phenomenon known as *motherese*, *baby talk*, *care-taker speech* or *care-giver speech* happens to take place at this moment that some adults—especially mothers—address infants in a peculiar way characterised by utterances which are typically clear and well-structured, with frequent rephrasings and repetitions, clear articulation and arresting intonation patterns (with an interesting range of highly varied intonation). The grammatically simple and short utterances contain words such as *pussy* and *quack-quack* and occur in active interactions whose topics relate directly to foci of interest relevant to the infants’ world. Many forms associated with “baby-talk” are used, for example, simplified words such as *tummy* or *nana*, or other alternative forms involving the

⁶ Wardhaugh, Ronald. *Investigating Language. Central problems in Linguistics*, p. 209.

⁷ Yule, George. *The Study of Language*.

repetition of simple sounds and representing objects in the child's environment such as *choo-choo*, *poo-poo*, *pee-pee*, *wawa*. Moreover, mothers adjust their speech slightly and repeatedly to match the constantly changing level of competence of their babies and children. Therefore, the level of structural complexity of the linguistic forms provided varies according to the continuously increasing command of the language their children develop. However, this does not mean that absolutely all adults adopt this attitude; many others make use of normal pitch, frequency range, intonation patterns and ordinary lexical items; the selection of topics of conversation being the only manifested restriction.

Between twelve and sixteen or eighteen months the child gains access to the period known as the *one-word stage*, during which he, typically, starts to understand words fully—i.e. he shows *comprehension of lexical items*—and to produce single-unit utterances (realized by single words). The single terms uttered by the infant during this period refer to everyday objects such as “milk,” “cookie,” “cat,” “cup.”

As it may be the case that the child can produce a simplified version of, for instance, “what’s that?,” some linguists prefer to call this stage *holophrastic*—meaning that a single form functions as a phrase or sentence, in the belief that the infant is really using these forms as phrases or sentences. It is conventionally agreed then that it is at this point that the infant begins to speak. Noticeably, it is funny to point out that girls tend to start “speaking” earlier than boys.

The child's vocabulary does not grow so swiftly, and it comprises various different classes of words, for example: *daddy*, *doggie*, *hot*, *cold*, *bath*, *bed*, *spoon*, *cup*, *bottle*, *eat*, *up*, *down*, and even *that*. But it does not comprise grammatical words of the following kind: *is*, *might*, *should*, *of*, *to*, *against*, *the*, etc. His productions lack inflectional suffixes, i.e. there is no grammatical marking for plurals or past tenses (in English). It is remarkable that

the gap between production and comprehension appears to be rather great in this period, since the infant is capable of understanding about a hundred words before being able to produce such a lot. There is no evidence of any structural properties in the utterances produced at this point and their meanings seem to be mainly *functionally*. In this connection, Halliday presents a *socio-functional* approach to language “acquisition” when he states that language is a *system of meanings* and of *ways of expressing these meanings*. Language serves the child's purposes by means of all the different meanings which are related to different functions. The child learns these meanings by interacting with other people. According to Halliday, at this early stage, the infant's language lacks syntax since each linguistic element constitutes a content-expression pair. In this sort of production it is easy to distinguish certain semantic roles or categories such as Agent/Action and Object. For instance, an utterance such as just *car* may be interpreted as *look*, *a car* or *there's a car*; however, it may not be appropriate to adopt such a “translation” as the most suitable because it is impossible for us to be sure that the infant has in mind the accurate concepts implied in the adult's interpretation.

Nevertheless, many times the infant seems to be extending the use of the single forms produced to name objects. Seeing his brother's bed empty, he may even utter the name of his absent brother in such a simple structure as *Peter* and *bed*. But, in fact, he is still incapable of putting the two forms together to produce a more complex phrase.

When the child is between 16–18 and 24 months old, two-word-long utterances are produced. This period is well-known as the *two-word stage* since it is impossible for the child to produce utterances such as *mummy get ball*, which contains three words; instead he will utter, on the one hand, *mummy get*, and on the other one *get ball*. Examples of this instance

are: *mummy dress, want coke, gimme milk, baby chair, doggie bad*. The interpretation of such productions will depend on the context of their utterance; for instance, the phrase *baby chair* may be thought to mean: (a) an expression of possession, i.e. this is baby's chair; (b) a request, i.e. put baby in chair; or (c) a statement, i.e. baby is in the chair. Since adults behave as if communication is taking place, the infant receives feedback quite frequently confirming that his utterance "worked."

Hardly ever will the infant's utterances separate from the adult syntactic word order; it seems then that he is already acquiring some grammar—for example, the rules to obtain grammatical word order in English. Nevertheless, no morphological rules are applied since there is no inflectional marking—the expressions do not show any grammatical "endings."

When the child is between two and three years old, a large number of utterances of the type *multiple-word utterances* is produced. They are characterised by the variation in word-forms rather than the number of words. The appearance of the sequence of inflectional morphemes as well as of simple prepositions (in, on, under, etc.) is highly relevant. There is a stage called the *telegraphic speech* which shows strings of lexical morphemes in phrases of the type *Rose want doll, doggie drink milk, or this shoe all wet*.

It is easily seen now that the sentence-building capacities that the child has been developing by this stage show in the correct order he gives to the linguistic forms.

The two-word stage lasts for several months. Then, utterances become much longer, containing four, five, six, ten, and even more words. According to Trask,⁸ "grammatical

words and endings appear and, in a matter of months, the child is using almost the whole range of adult grammatical forms of words. All kinds of new constructions appear—negation, subordinate clauses, questions—and are quickly used more increasingly accurately and confidently.

Roughly speaking, between the ages of two and three infants "acquire" most of the grammar of his native language—or of any other language he might be learning. And when he is five, he masters practically everything with the exception of a few elaborate constructions that will be learnt later on. When the child is five, though he is still making the odd mistake ("three *womens*," "he *goed* to the cinema"), he has already mastered practically everything except a few elaborate constructions that will be learnt later on.

Conclusion

Any child, provided he is not physically impaired, develops language at approximately the same time, along much the same programme. As the same can be said for other human activities such as sitting up, standing, walking, using the hands, jumping and many other physical activities, it is believed that the language acquisition programme has the same basis and is based on the same principles as the biologically determined development of motor skills. There is a close link, interdependence between the maturation of the child's brain and the lateralization process. This apparent biological schedule underlying the language acquisition process is definitely dependent upon an interplay with many social factors in the infant's environment. The child may be said to have the biological capacity to deal successfully with distinguishing certain aspects of linguistic input at different stages during his early childhood. And this acquisition capacity actually requires a sufficiently constant input from

⁸ Trask, R.L. *Language: The Basics*.

which the basis of the regularities in the particular language (or languages) can be worked out.

On the other hand, though the early socio-cultural environment of a child differs considerably from culture to culture, there are constant and apparently invariable linguistic principles that apply in absolutely all cases indicating the existence of a genetically transmitted innate capacity. It is in this connection that the linguist Noam Chomsky has proposed the description of language development as “language growth” since the “language organ” simply grows and matures as any other body organ does.

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Henry Morton Robinson

The Cardinal

(fragmento)

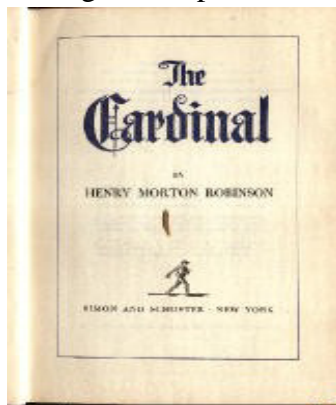
Traducción de Sabrina Stanic

Like many a Florentine before him, Captain Gaetano Orselli, master of the luxury liner *Vesuvio*, was inordinately fond of jewelry. As a young man he had not wholly resisted the temptation to overload his person—especially his hands—with costly stones; but now in his meridian forties a purer taste was asserting itself. The gem for its own sake had become a canon with Captain Orselli. He contented himself with wearing a single ring at a time, and exercised his really superb sense of ritual by selecting precisely the right stone for the occasion.

Tonight Captain Orselli was choosing his ring with particular care. In a few minutes he would make his appearance on the bridge of the *Vesuvio* to point out sidereal wonders—stars, planets, constellations—to a small group of saloon passengers gathered there by special invitation. He hovered over his ring-case, hesitating between a cabochon emerald and a Burmese ruby. The Captain owned dozens of rings and might have owned hundreds of them, were it not for his incurable habit of giving them away to women—preferably Northern women with wheat-coloured hair, deep bosoms, and blue eyes. Deciding in favour of the ruby, he slipped it ceremoniously over the polished nail of his right index finger, and pressed it down to the knuckle. With the perfume atomizer he sprayed his de Reszke beard, adjusted his gold-embroidered hat to the precise slant of the *Vesuvio*'s smokestacks, then surveyed the effect—front, back and profile—in a three-panelled, full-length mirror. Where others would have seen merely a handsome dandy, Captain Orselli saw the truer reflection of a Renaissance magnifico smiling back at him ironically from the glass.

The Captain nipped an English-market cigar between his fine teeth and went on deck. The night was moonless, clear; acid stars etched brilliant geometric patterns in the heavens. Orselli glanced at the sea and sky—a mariner's glance that established the position of the *Vesuvio* almost as accurately as a sextant and chronometer.

Como muchos florentinos que le precedieron, el capitán Gaetano Orselli, al mando del lujoso transatlántico *Vesuvio*, era excesivamente aficionado a las alhajas. Cuando era joven no había logrado resistirse a la tentación de sobrecargar su persona (en especial las manos) con costosas piedras; pero ahora, a los cuarenta y cinco, un gusto más refinado se estaba afianzando. La joya en sí misma se había convertido en una norma para el capitán Orselli. Se contentaba con usar un anillo por vez, y practicaba su magnífico sentido de ritual al seleccionar la piedra adecuada para cada ocasión.



Esa noche el capitán Orselli elegía el anillo con especial esmero. En unos minutos haría su aparición sobre el puente de mando del *Vesuvio* para señalar las maravillas siderales (estrellas, planetas, constelaciones) a un reducido grupo de pasajeros de primera clase allí reunidos por invitación especial. Examinaba el alhajero vacilando entre una esmeralda de corte cabujón y un rubí birmano. El capitán poseía docenas de anillos y hubiera podido tener cientos de no haber sido por su irremediable costumbre de obsequiarlos a mujeres, en especial a mujeres nórdicas de cabello dorado como el trigo, enormes senos y ojos azules. Después de decidirse a favor del rubí, lo deslizó ceremoniosamente por la brillante uña de su índice derecho, y lo empujó hasta el nudillo. Con un atomizador se perfumó la barba, recortada a la manera de De Reszke, se acomodó la gorra bordada en oro según la inclinación exacta de las chimeneas del *Vesuvio*, luego estudió el efecto (de frente, de espalda y de perfil) en un espejo de cuerpo entero de tres paneles. Donde otros hubiesen visto un apuesto dandi, el capitán Orselli veía el verdadero reflejo de un caballero renacentista que le devolvía una sonrisa irónica desde el cristal. El capitán mordió con sus finos dientes un cigarro inglés y se dirigió a cubierta. Era una noche clara, sin luna; ácidas estrellas grababan brillantes figuras geométricas en el firmamento. Orselli echó un vistazo al mar y al cielo: la mirada de un marino que estableció la posición del *Vesuvio* casi con tanta exactitud como un sextante y un cronómetro.

A formação do léxico do português do Brasil:

Termos do vocabulário gastronômico provenientes de dialetos italianos

Apresentação

O presente trabalho, desconsiderando os capítulos em que foi segmentado, pode ser dividido em duas partes. Na primeira parte, após breve fundamentação teórica, é feita uma contextualização geral sobre a formação do léxico da língua portuguesa do Brasil. Na segunda, realiza-se um levantamento de termos provenientes de dialetos italianos presentes no vocabulário gastronômico da Região de Colonização Italiana (RCI) do Nordeste do Rio Grande do Sul.

À primeira parte atribui-se o objetivo de oferecer uma visão geral do assunto e de trazer à consideração aspectos relevantes relativos ao capítulo da formação do estoque lexical do português do Brasil. Essa visão geral configura-se oportuna em especial por ser este um trabalho a ser apresentado em âmbito de universidade estrangeira.

Já a segunda parte mereceu atenção especial, pois pretende-se que se lhe possa conferir algum grau de originalidade. Efetivamente são escassos (ou até inexistentes, pelo conhecimento que se tem) trabalhos com esse objetivo.

Nesta época de globalização —inclusive lingüística—, favorecida pelas facilidades e pela rapidez de comunicação planetária, a atuação da neologia no sentido da renovação e ampliação do léxico das línguas naturais é de repercussão crescente. Isso acaba conferindo aos sistemas lingüísticos feições novas, quer pela importação de estrangeirismos, quer pela formação vernácula, originando novos termos, contraditórios, amiúde, na imprensa diária. É só compulsar os meios de comunicação impressa (e nem precisa ser tão especializada) para constatar a presença de termos novos,

alguns de formação por processos inesperados, imprevistos. À guisa de amostra, quatro exemplos: negócios *pontocom*, *e-comércio*, transações *B 2 B*, *C 2 B*, etc.

Diante dessa realidade dinâmica da língua, seria de se esperar que houvesse um trabalho sistemática de levantamento, análise e registro do acervo léxico e de inclusão de neologismos. Não é o que acontece em relação à língua portuguesa do Brasil, onde os trabalhos com esses objetivos se resumem a iniciativas isoladas empreendidas nos meios acadêmicos através de artigos, dissertações, teses e alguns poucos livros (ver Bibliografia, especialmente Alves, 1994). O português do Brasil ressent-se da ausência de uma entidade coordenadora de tais atividades, como existe em Portugal, onde a Universidade Nova de Lisboa e o Observatório de Neologismos do Português cumprem essa função.

A presente monografia insere-se nesse contexto de escassez de fontes, em especial na parte que mais interessa, a do levantamento do léxico dialetal italiano, nos moldes que serão melhor delineados adiante. Na falta de entidade especializada onde se pudesse buscar apoio, resta a pesquisa na escassa bibliografia disponível sobre o assunto, busca nos meios de comunicação e em outras fontes cujos hábitos lingüísticos favoreçam o emprego de tais termos. Trata-se de levantamento limitado, pois restringiu-se a termos provindos de dialetos italianos ligados à gastronomia presentes na interação lingüística na Região de Colonização Italiana do Nordeste do Rio Grande do Sul, a maioria de procedência vêneta.

1. Breve fundamentação teórica

O léxico da língua portuguesa é formado de termos provenientes de várias fontes. Em termos de língua portuguesa do Brasil, consideramos como *estoque inicial* o acervo léxico trazido pelos portugueses a partir do descobrimento do Brasil. Do século XVI em diante, o português em solo americano, como acontece com qualquer língua viva, foi ampliando seu estoque inicial. Essa ampliação foi se realizando através de um processo geral denominado *neologia*. As criações neológicas — os *neologismos* — podem proceder de duas fontes: externa (outras línguas), ou interna (da própria língua).

No primeiro caso, o novo termo denomina-se *estrangeirismo*, no segundo caso tem-se uma *criação vernácula*. A criação vernácula, autóctone, realiza-se, segundo denominação da Nomenclatura Gramatical Brasileira (NGB), pelos processos de composição ou derivação. Em teoria, qualquer falante tem a faculdade de criar novos termos. Há, porém, diversos fatores condicionantes que “regulam” naturalmente tanto a criação como a difusão dos neologismos. É o que afirma Alves (1994: 6): “Sendo a língua um patrimônio de toda uma comunidade lingüística, a todos os membros dessa sociedade é facultado o direito de criatividade léxica. No entanto, é através dos meios de comunicação de massa e de obras literárias que os neologismos recém-criados têm oportunidade de serem conhecidos e, eventualmente, de serem difundidos”.

Quanto aos estrangeirismos, os fornecedores de maior influência têm-se alternado ao longo do tempo. Do século XVIII até metade do século XX predominaram os galicismos. De meados do século passado até hoje, e com grande incidência na atualidade, os termos da língua inglesa são os maiores contribuintes.

Outros estrangeirismos, constantemente e de forma inevitável, foram e vão se incorporando ao idioma, devido aos contatos e intercâmbios,

cada vez mais intensos e freqüentes, entre povos de línguas diferentes.

2. A formação do léxico do português do Brasil

Inúmeros fatores concorrem para a formação do léxico das línguas. Enquanto palavras desaparecem, outras vão surgindo, constantemente. É normal que assim seja, pois a língua, sendo uma entidade social, recebe da sociedade que dela se utiliza a contribuição das mudanças que lhe imprime, por inúmeras razões.

Na formação do léxico da língua, o surgimento de palavras novas atende quer à necessidade de expressar realidades emergentes, quer ao impulso criativo, que pode corresponder à liberdade que a sociedade (as pessoas) tem de intervir criativamente na língua ou ao impulso inovador próprio da construção de textos artísticos, literários, haja vista os textos de João Guimarães Rosa, Carlos Drummond de Andrade.

Para efeito de situar este trabalho no contexto da formação do léxico da língua portuguesa do Brasil, vamos dividir o assunto em duas etapas, levando em consideração o aspecto cronológico. Na primeira etapa, considera-se a contribuição dos descobridores. Os portugueses, ao chegarem ao Brasil, trouxeram consigo uma língua já constituída, incluindo o acervo léxico, o estoque inicial. (A língua trazida pelos portugueses estava constituída, claro, mas não acabada, pois as línguas vivas evoluem constantemente).

Na segunda etapa, a língua portuguesa recebeu, já em “território brasileiro”, novas contribuições, quer de origem vernácula, quer estrangeira. Essa segunda etapa, por sua vez, também será dividida em duas abordagens. A primeira refere-se às contribuições estrangeiras em geral. A segunda, que irá merecer atenção maior, será a da contribuição de origem dialetal italiana.

2.1. A contribuição lusa

Como dissemos, os portugueses, ao aportarem no Brasil, na condição de descobridores e colonizadores, trouxeram consigo sua língua. É o que podemos considerar, com Melo (1971: 213), de *continuidade lingüística*: “palavras que constituem o fundo originário do idioma, as palavras herdadas que nasceram com a língua e receberam a impressão de seus sinais característicos e de suas tendências marcantes”. Nesse acervo incluem-se palavras de procedência diversa, latina, grega, árabe, etc., como se verá em breve exemplificação, adiante. O acervo de procedência latina era a principal fonte de itens léxicos, e nem podia ser diferente, considerando que o português é uma língua neolatina. Em segundo lugar figuram os elementos de origem grega. A cultura grega teve grande influência tanto sobre a cultura romana em praticamente todos os aspectos, como especialmente sobre a língua latina. Mas, ao longo do tempo, os povos romanos, falantes do latim, nas inúmeras conquistas que empreenderam, tiveram contato com muitos povos falantes de outras línguas. Mais especificamente na Península Ibérica, muitos povos entraram em contato, primeiramente com o latim, depois com o românico (o latim em transformação a caminho de dar origem às línguas românicas) e depois com o próprio português já considerado língua autônoma. Buscamos em Coutinho (1971: 189 e ss) breve exemplificação dessas origens:

ibéricas (bascas): arroio, baía, balsa, barro, bezerro, garra, lousa, modorra, páramo;

célticas: bico, brio, cabana, cambiar, caminho, carpinteiro, carro, cerveja, gato, lança, légua, peça, seara, touca, vassalo;

fenícias: mapa, mata, malha, saco;

hebraicas: aleluia, amém, bálsamo, belzebu, éden, hissope, maná, páscoa, querubim, sábado, serafim;

germânicas: arauto, arreio, brasa, burgo, bando, elmo, estribo, feudo, guerra, guia, harpa, lata, lasca, marco, roupa, sopa, trégua;

árabe: açougue, açude, alecrim, alface, algodão, arroba, arroz, azeite, oxalá, azeitona, jogral, linhagem, salitre, rouxinol, viagem, vianda.

2.2. A formação vernácula

A formação vernácula engloba os termos oriundos de algum dos processos de formação de palavras: composição, derivação, acronímia, etc., porém já em território brasileiro. Ou seja, os falantes do português, no Brasil, a partir do século XVI, conforme a necessidade, formaram novas palavras a partir das já existentes. A partir dessa etapa da história lingüística do Brasil começam a aparecer as diferenças do português do Brasil e de Portugal. Muitos termos que se formaram aqui não tiveram curso entre os lusitanos.

A formação vernácula do léxico é um capítulo muito extenso da língua, pois são inúmeros os termos derivados por prefixação, por sufixação, por composição de radicais, etc. Porém, cingir-nos-emos a breve exemplificação, já que não é este o foco de maior interesse deste trabalho. Busquemos alguns exemplos em neologismos modernos, com algumas ocorrências distribuídas entre os diversos meios de formação de palavras (ver Alves 1994).

Prefixação: antigreve, anti-IBOPE, anti-Castro, desideologização, desmalufar, sem-terra, indescartável, pró-Cut, hiperinflação, megacomício, microcomputador;

Sufixação: brizolismo, achistas, argentinização, favelização, frevança, selecionáveis, historicável, detalhístico, tucanar, democratie, painelço;

Composição: boca-de-urna, três-em-um, telespectador-eleitor-contribuinte, partido-ônibus, sambódromo, camelódromo, fumódromo, diretas-já;

Acronímia (siglas): Anfavea, UDR, CDB, OTN (otenizar), PFL (pefelista), URP (Unidade de Referência de Preços, urpização);

Truncação: euro (europeu), níver (aniversário), refri (refrigerante);

Portmanteau (palavra-valise): brasiguaio (brasileiro e paraguaio), showmício, cantriz (cantora e atriz), portunhol.

2.3. Termos de origem indígena

Os termos de origem indígena são os pertencentes a alguma das línguas faladas pelos autóctones e que se incorporaram ao léxico da língua portuguesa do Brasil. Segundo Houaiss (1992: 56), “As retrojeções que têm sido feitas

das populações indígenas brasileiras vão de 4, 5 milhões a 10 milhões de habitantes”. Contribuiu muito para a incorporação de termos indígenas ao vocabulário português a atuação dos missionários jesuítas. “Seguindo, assim, uma prática viva que emergia espontaneamente de certos contatos interétnicos, disciplinaram línguas que ‘recobriam’ várias línguas indígenas, afins genealogicamente falando. Flor desse engenho, fixaram relativamente cedo uma ‘arte de gramática da língua que mais se fala na costa do Brasil’, noutros termos, um tipo de comunicação languageira geral à série não pequena de línguas providas do tronco comum modernamente chamado tupi” (Id., p. 54).

No campo da literatura, contribuíram fartamente na incorporação de termos indígenas ao vocabulário português especialmente José de Alencar e Gonçalves Dias. Alencar, em “Notas do autor” acrescentadas ao romance *Ubirajara* (p. 147 e ss) explica inúmeros termos indígenas utilizados na obra. São exemplos:

Ubirajara — Senhor da lança, de *ubira* — vara, e *jara* — senhor; aportuguesando o sentido, vem a ser lanceiro.

Jaguarê — Nome composto de *jaguar* — a onça, e o sufixo *e* que na língua tupi reforça enfaticamente a palavra a que se liga [...]

Jandira — O nome é *Jandaira* de uma abelha que fabrica excelente mel [...]

Araci — Esta palavra tupi compõe-se de *ára* (cic) — dia, e *ceí* ou *ceji* (cic) — grande estrela [...]

Tocantim — Compõe-se de *tocana* e *tim*; literalmente, o nariz, o rosto do tucano. [...]

2.4. Termos de origem africana

Os termos de origem africana, por seu turno, são aqueles oriundos das línguas dos escravos trazidos da África para o Brasil. Esses termos ocupam o terceiro lugar em ordem de importância na formação do português do Brasil. É o que consta em Houaiss (1992: 75): “É costume falar —pela ordem— em índios, portugueses e africanos, estes em terceiro lugar. [...] Do ponto de vista lingüística, é —ou

parece ser— de fato o terceiro, em grau de importância, no afeiçoamento da variedade brasileira da lusofonia”. O recurso à língua geral, de base tupi-guarani, para a comunicação entre os grupos étnicos favoreceu a difusão do léxico indígena em detrimento africano. “É quando entra em ação”, diz Houaiss (1992: 81), “uma das funções mais perdurantes de nossa história, a educadora catequética, basicamente exercida pela Companhia (Sociedade) de Jesus. A fase inicial, de ‘consolidação’ da língua geral espontaneamente emergente, ilustram-na o padre Manuel da Nóbrega (que se reputava mau língua), Azpilcueta Navarro (tido como bom língua) e José de Anchieta, o codificador, o autor da *Arte de gramática da língua que mais se fala na costa do Brasil* (1595)”.

Alguns exemplos de termos africanos presentes hoje no linguajar brasileiro relacionados por Antenor Nascentes (apud Houaiss, 1992: 89): *alquimia, angola, banzo, cachimbo, chimpanzé, cuscuz, inhame, miçanga, oásis, quitanda, sova, tanga, zebra*.

2.5. Termos de outras origens

Esses outros estrangeirismos são os procedentes de inúmeras línguas (francês, inglês, italiano, espanhol, etc.), que, ao longo do tempo, incorporaram-se e continuam se incorporando ao léxico brasileiro. São estrangeirismos todos os termos provindos de outras línguas excetuado o latim, desde as antigas listadas acima que vieram ao Brasil trazidas pelos descobridores (ibéricas, célticas, fenícias, etc.) até as modernas que continuam fornecendo acervo léxico, como é o caso do inglês, francês, espanhol, italiano, etc. Os “fornecedores” desses acervos alternam-se, em importância, ao longo do tempo. A influência econômica e cultural do país de origem desses empréstimos normalmente é o fator determinante de quem passa a deter a supremacia. Nesse sentido, o francês predominou desde o século XVIII até meados do século XX. Na atualidade, diante da hegemonia norte-americana em praticamente todos os

setores (econômico, tecnológico, cultural, bélico, de informática, lazer), o inglês constituiu-se no maior invasor nos outros sistemas lingüísticos de praticamente todo o mundo. Da mesma ordem de grandeza dessas “invasões” são as reações dos defensores da “pureza” da língua, isso repetido ao longo do tempo. Testemunho disso é um comentário a uma carta escrita em 1925, por Manuel Bandeira a Mário de Andrade. A carta, transcrita parcialmente pelo articulista José Geraldo Couto na Folha de São Paulo (*Esporte*, p. 7, 18-3-2000), traz o seguinte comentário do jornalista: “mesmo entre escritores de formação marcadamente francesa e empenhados em desenvolver uma língua autenticamente ‘brasileira’, como eram Bandeira e Mário, os termos ingleses do futebol dominavam incontestes”.

Entre os estrangeirismos, este trabalho, como se disse acima, dará destaque e atenção maior ao caso particular da presença de termos provenientes de dialetos italianos presentes no linguajar português do Nordeste gaúcho.

3. Termos de dialetos italianos

Antes de abordar a presença de termos procedentes de dialetos italianos no linguajar corrente dos falantes do Nordeste do Rio Grande do Sul, é oportuno contextualizar o assunto. Para tanto, far-se-á um rápido histórico sobre a imigração italiana nessa região.

3.1. A imigração italiana no Rio Grande do Sul

A imigração italiana para o Rio Grande do Sul iniciou-se em 1875. Essa imigração insere-se num movimento migratório maior verificado no século XIX. Como diz Oddone (in Frosi & Mioranza, 1983: 55), “A imigração italiana para o Rio Grande do Sul, fenômeno de massa, não pode ser excluída dos movimentos migratórios euro-atlânticos do século XIX que favoreciam o êxodo de excedentes populacionais não absorvidos pela reestruturação político-

econômica dos países europeus”. As terras devolutas da Encosta Superior do Nordeste do Rio Grande do Sul tiveram preferência no assentamento dos recém-chegados, oriundos, em sua maior parte, do norte da Itália. As áreas que mais forneceram contingente imigratório foram a Lombardia, Vêneto, Trentino-Alto Ádige e Friuli-Venécia (Id., p. 57). Os imigrantes encontraram muitas dificuldades para se estabelecer, pois lhes foram destinadas terras inóspitas, de topografia muito acidentada, de difícil cultivo. Mas mostraram grande espírito empreendedor e, passado pouco mais de um século, a região ostenta grande progresso, em praticamente todos os setores da economia, da cultura e da tecnologia. Essa região, que pode ser localizada tendo como centro geográfico a cidade de Caxias do Sul, passou a ser denominada de Região de Colonização Italiana (RCI).

3.2. O léxico gastronômico de origem dialetal italiana

O recorte que se fez —termos do meio gastronômico— teve o objetivo de tornar o trabalho factível, consideradas as pretensões limitadas deste levantamento. Inventário mais amplo demandaria pesquisa formal sistemática de mais tempo e recursos.

Considerando algumas dificuldades e características próprias deste trabalho, é preciso proceder a alguns esclarecimentos, antes de passar ao inventário do léxico pesquisado.

O primeiro esclarecimento refere-se à menção das fontes de coleta do léxico. A busca dos termos foi realizada na escassa bibliografia existente (basicamente o *Dicionário Vêneto Sul-rio-grandense - Português*, Stawinski, 1987), em restaurantes típicos italianos, em casas comerciais (mercados, tendas) onde se vendem produtos alimentícios, pequenas indústrias de alimentos, imprensa, convites para festas italianas com menção ao cardápio, rótulos de produtos com referência aos ingredientes de sua composição e entrevista com pessoas com algum tipo de atuação nesse meio

(cozinheiros, vendedores, produtores de alimentos).

O segundo esclarecimento diz respeito ao critério para seleção do léxico. Como não existem pesquisas sobre o assunto, fica difícil, em certos casos, decidir sobre como selecionar os termos a serem arrolados. Optou-se, então, pelos seguintes dois critérios: a) que o termo tenha curso efetivo numa das fontes pesquisadas. Não se tratou, pois, de coletar os termos nos meios onde a comunicação normal é feita em dialeto vêneto. Tratou-se, isto sim, de caracterizá-los como estrangeirismos neológicos, ou seja, palavras provenientes do dialeto italiano empregadas nos meios em que a comunicação normal se processa em língua portuguesa; b) que o termo não conste no *Novo Dicionário Aurélio da Língua Portuguesa* (Aurélio Buarque de Holanda Ferreira, 1986). Assim, pelo primeiro critério, comprova-se a existência e curso efetivo do termo e, pelo segundo, é conferido ao termo o caráter de estrangeirismo neológico, em relação ao português geral do Brasil, e de regionalismo, pelo emprego localizado em regiões de colonização italiana, especialmente no Nordeste do Rio Grande do Sul.

O terceiro ponto a ressaltar refere-se à definição dos itens lexicais. Trata-se de termos referentes a iguarias da culinária regional, da qual não se conhecem pesquisas e registros escritos que poderiam conferir alguma precisão às definições. Assim, em diferentes locais de uso, o mesmo termo figura com acepções diversas. *Macarrão*, por exemplo, na acepção geral, é qualquer tipo de massa; já na especialidade italiana é uma massa grossa, vazada, cortada em pequenos pedaços. As definições dadas aqui aos termos coletados baseiam-se em cardápios, fôlderes e depoimentos obtidos nos levantamentos feitos, sem a pretensão, portanto, de considerá-las definições rigorosas. Persiste, pois, a necessidade de pesquisa de maior extensão e rigor para sanar essa lacuna.

O quarto aspecto a esclarecer refere-se à grafia dos termos. Como os dialetos italianos da região são quase “línguas” ágrafas (são poucos os textos escritos nesses dialetos), há muita vacilação e, portanto, variantes gráficas do mesmo termo. Alguns itens são aportuguesados parcialmente, outros integralmente, outros continuam com a grafia dialetal, mas com versões diversas. Optou-se por registrar uma das grafias como entrada de verbete e consignar outras entre parênteses.

Por fim, ressalte-se o caráter limitado da “pesquisa”. Buscou-se mais uma amostra exemplificativa do que levantamento exaustivo. Fica em aberto a possibilidade de se proceder a uma pesquisa efetiva sobre o assunto, que bem comportaria trabalho de mais amplitude.

3.2.1. Inventário

AGNOLINI (agnoline, agnolíni, anholine, anholini)

— pequeno pastel de massa com recheio de pão ralado, carne e temperos, próprio para sopas.

BIGOLI (bígoli) — massa de farinha de trigo; macarrão.

BOLONHESA (carne à —) — carne de gado em pedaços temperada com molho vermelho.

BRODO — caldo de sopa, canja de galinha.

CAPELETI (capeletti, capelletti, cappelletti) — o mesmo que *agnolini*.

CAPUCINO (capuccino) — café com leite de preparo especial.

CARNE-LESSA — o mesmo que *lesso*.

CREN (crên, crem) — tempero forte proveniente da raiz da planta com o mesmo nome.

FIDELINI (filelíni, fideline, fedelini, fedeline) — massa de farinha de trigo muito fina própria para sopas; cabelo-de-anjo.

FORTAIA (fritaia) — fritada de ovos batidos; omelete.

FREGOLÁ (sfregolá) — doce de amendoim com farinha de milho, farinha de trigo, margarina, ovos, açúcar.

FUNGHI (massa ao molho de —) — massa preparada com molho de cogumelos e vinho madeira.

GALETO-AL-PRIMO-CANTO — frango novo. (Consta dicionarizado o termo *galeto*.)

GNOCHI (o mesmo que *nhoque*, já dicionarizado) — massa cortada em pequenas porções feita de farinha de trigo, ovos, queijo.

GROSTOLI (grôstoli, crostoli, grustoli) — doce de farinha de trigo, ovos, leite e temperos; calça-virada.

LESSO (lêssô) — carne cozida em água fervente.

MANDOLATO (mandolate) — doce de amendoim, farinha de trigo, açúcar (glicose).

MARMELADA — (o termo está dicionarizado como doce de marmelo; a curiosidade é que, no dialeto italiano, a marmelada pode ser de outras frutas).

MENAROSTO (menarôsto) — galeto (ave) preparado em espeto giratório.

MILANESA (bife/filé à —) — bife ou filé frito envolto em camada de pão ralado, queijo, ovos e temperos.

MINESTRA (menestra) — sopa.

MINISTRINA (menestrina) — sopa leve.

MINESTRONE (menestrone) — sopa espessa.

OSSACOL (ossocol) — tipo de salame grande feito de lombinho de porco.

PANSETA — toucinho feito da barriga do porco.

PARMEGGIANA (bife/filé à —) — bife ou filé à milanesa, mais presunto, queijo e molho de tomate.

PASTA — massa composta de farinha de trigo, água, ovos.

PASTASCIUTA — tipo de massa feita de farinha de trigo.

PERSECHE — maçã fatiada desidratada.

PESTO (massa ao molho —) — massa preparada com molho de manjerição e outros temperos.

PIEN (piem) — pescoço de galinha recheado.

POLENTA-BRUSTOLADA — polenta fatiada assada sobre chapa bem quente.

RADICI (radicci) — hortaliça própria para saladas.

RADICI-COTI — preparado dessa erva, cozida, picada e temperada com toucinho.

RAFIOLI (consta dicionarizada a forma *ravióli*) — pequeno pastel com recheio especial cozido em água e preparado com molhos.

RONDELI (rondéli) — rocambole de massa enrolado com recheio.

ROTOLO (rotôlo) — massa verde ou branca enrolada recheada.

SCODEGHIN (scodeghín, codeghin) — espécie de lingüiça feita de carne e pele de porco ensacada em tripa e fervida.

SPAGHETI (está dicionarizada a forma *espagete*) — massa feita à base de farinha de trigo, desidratada, fina e dura.

SUCHETI (socheti, soquete) — espécie de moranga alongada.

SÚGOLO (súgulo) — pasta (mingau) feita de vinho, farinha e açúcar.

TAIADELE (taiadela) — massa de farinha de trigo em forma de tiras achatadas; talharim.

TORTEI (tortéi) — espécie de pastel com invólucro de massa de farinha de trigo e recheio de farinha de trigo, ovos, moranga, queijo, temperos.

TORTELONE (tortelôni) — massa branca enrolada recheada com ricota, queijo e outros temperos (assemelha-se ao rocambole).

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